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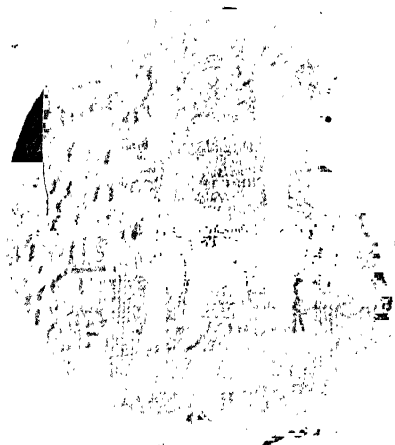
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THE JOURNAL
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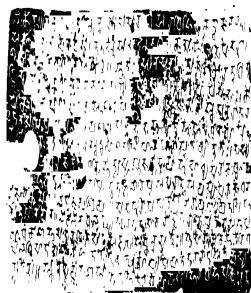
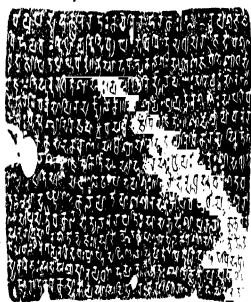
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JOURNAL

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BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. IV.]

[PART I.

The Annual Address.

By the Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I.

I have been asked by His Honour the President to deliver the Annual Address this year. We all regret that the many other calls on His Honour's time have prevented him from delivering the Annual Presidential Address as he has done since the inauguration of this Society.

The Society has made steady progress during the year. Twenty-eight new members have joined. This is, however, less than in the previous year in which 38 new members joined, and I hope that the present year will show a still further increase. The present number of members and subscribers is now 338 as compared with 319 at the end of 1916 and 237 at the end of 1915.

Government has generously provided the Society with a Library of about one thousand volumes of select books and Journals, and a reading room has been fitted up for the use of members. Mr. S. Sinha will, it is expected, shortly make over to the Society the books in his library on the subjects dealt with by the Society. Raja Kamaleswari Prasad Singh, of Monghyr, who has already been so generous to this Society, has just made a further donation of Rs. 1,000 for the purchase of books.

Four numbers of the Journal have been published during the year, and the contributions include papers from such eminent authorities as Sir George Grierson and Mr. Vincent Smith.

Sir George Grierson has edited and also given a metrical translation of the *Pārijāta Harāṇa*,¹ a Mithilā drama by Umāpati Upādhyāya, who attended the Court of Hari, or Hara Deva, whom Sir George considers to be the King of that name who ruled in Mithilā in the fourteenth century. In a subsequent paper, which is published in the December Number of the Journal,² he further discusses the identity of this ruler and the consequent date of the drama, as against a later date, early in the eighteenth century, which has been maintained by Paṇḍit Chētnāth Jhā, which is based on a local tradition, that Gokulnāth Upādhyāya who lived in the days of Mahārāja Rāghava Simha (1698—1724), was a personal friend of Umāpati Upādhyāya.

In both cases the question is one of tradition, and, until further evidence becomes available, it is not possible to state definitely which, if either, of the traditions is correct. But the argument which Sir George Grierson gives in support of the identity of Hari Deva, and the earlier date appear much stronger than those in favour of the later one. In this play, as in other dramas of Mithilā, the superior male characters all speak Sanskrit, and the women, when speaking prose, use Sauraseni Prakṛit; but all the songs, whether sung by men or women, are in the Maithili dialect of the Bihari language.

Mr. Jayaswal has contributed two papers of considerable interest and importance on the Hāthi-gumphā inscription of the Emperor Khāravela (173—160 B. C.)³ and Mr. R. D. Banerji has also contributed a note⁴ on the same inscription, which appear in the Journal for December. This inscription, which in point of age is the second inscription after Asoka, is, as the author points out, from the point of view of the Chronology of pre-

¹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III., page 20.

² J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III., page 552.

³ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III., p. 425 and p. 478.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 486.

Mauryan times and the history of Jainism, the most important inscription yet discovered, and is also the earliest inscription in India which mentions an era, "the Kāla of King Muriya" (Chandra Gupta). Though the inscription has been previously read, this is the first time that a facsimile of the inscription and a reading prepared according to the modern method has been published. For this we are indebted to His Honour Sir E. A. Gait, who, at Mr. Jayaswal's suggestion, arranged with the Archaeological Department to have an impression of the inscription taken, which was done by Mr. R. D. Banerji. The result has been that several new passages have been added to the text, and previous readings have been corrected and improved in several places, many of which now yield an entirely different meaning. This inscription contains a record of the reign and conquests of Khāravela, and one interesting addition to the text of former readings is the fact that in his first invasion of Magadha he came to Goradhagiri, which Mr. Jackson in a previous number of this Journal had independently identified as in the Barabar Hills in Gaya.¹

An interesting fact which is deduced from the inscription is that Nanda Vardhan, king of Magadha, conquered Kalinga in the year 449 B.C.

Mr. Jayaswal, in his second note, discusses the name of Bahapati Mitra on the inscription, whom he identifies with Pushyamitra of the Śunga dynasty, and concludes therefrom that the coins hitherto known as the Mitra coins are coins of the Śunga dynasty and that the discovery of these coins at Ayo-dhyā, Pañchāla and Kauśambi shows that those places were included in the Śunga empire.

Mr. Banerji also discusses the text of the inscription and the new light which it throws on the history of that period.

Another inscription, the Tezpur Inscription, on a rock on the Brahmaputra near the town of Tejpur, has been deciphered by Mahamahopadaya Hara Prasād Shāstri.² Only the first three lines

¹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. I., p. 159.

² J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III., p. 598.

and the date of the inscription had been previously tentatively read by Dr. F. Kielhorn from a rubbing sent to him. The present reading gives the inscription complete. The importance of the inscription, which concerns a local matter, lies in providing a certain and definite date for a line of Kings of Prāggyotisha, and also in giving a sure testimony that the Gupta era was used even so far East as Tezpur in the ninth century A.D., when it was generally superseded in India by the Śaka and Vikrama eras.

In Archæology some very interesting papers have been contributed. Mr. C. W. Anderson has contributed an important Note on Prehistoric Stone Implements¹ which he has found in the Singlbhum district. These implements are palæolithic and their discovery is important; as hitherto palæolithic implements have been almost exclusively confined to the Madras Presidency and the South of India; only neolithic implements being found in Central and Northern India. The implements were found at different localities in the valley of the Sanjai river and in the banks scoured out by its tributary the Binjai, but always in the same strata of gravel, which lies at a depth of 18 feet below the surface. The jawbone of a small wild horse or ass was also found with some of them. On the analogy of similar finds in Europe, and also from the depth of the strata in which they are found, these implements are separated by a period of many thousands of years from the neolithic implements so generally found throughout Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas, which are always found, by ploughing or otherwise, near the surface.

Mr. Jackson has investigated the route followed by the Chinese Traveller Hiuen Tsang (629—645 A.D.) in South Behar² and has identified the Buddhavana Mountain with the Hānṛiā Hill, south-west of Rājgir, and also explains the scent of the "Ox-head sandalwood" which Hiuen Tsang describes as still lingering on the rocks by the side of or above the "stone chambers", now identified with the caves in the Hānṛiā and Chandu

¹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III., p. 349.

² J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III., p. 293.

Hills, where it had been pounded by Sakra and Brahma Rāja in order to sprinkle the body of Buddha, in regard to which no theory has been hitherto advanced by archæologists, as being due to the smell of the *silagit* (śilājīṭ) which is referred to by Buchanan Hamilton, as exuding from the rocks, and which Mr. Jackson found to be exuding at the present time. Mr. Jackson considers that this is caused by water which is accumulated behind the cave and has to trickle through deposits of the excrement of bats, etc., before it reaches the outer surface through crevices in the rock. Dr. Caldwell has contributed a chemical analysis of this substance¹, which shows that it is mainly organic, which supports the above theory.

Rai Bahadur Professor Joges Chandra Ray has given us a very interesting and complete account of Textile Industry in Ancient India² and the materials and the dyes which were used, derived from Sanskrit and Pāli sources of information.

Babu Jitendra Lal Bose in "Notes on Club Life in Ancient India"³ explains certain words used in the Vedas and considers that they indicate that at that time people met together for social intercourse in the nature of Clubs.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has contributed an interesting paper on the Chronological Totals in Purānic Chronicles and the Kali-yuga Era.⁴

And Mr. R. D. Banerji gives the genealogy of the Bhanja dynasty of Orissa⁵ derived from a number of copper-plate grants of this dynasty, which have been brought to light during the last few years.

I would also refer to the work of Excavation that is being carried on in this province. Dr. Spooner's excavations at Kumrahar (Kumhrār) of the Palace of Chandra Gupta have been referred to in the previous Annual Reports. During the past year he has continued his excavations at Nālanda, which are still

¹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III., p. 317.

² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 406.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

in progress, and, at Bulandibāgh, has discovered what, so far as present evidence points, would appear to be the timber city wall of Pātaliputra, which is mentioned by Megasthenes, and which is in a wonderful state of preservation. These excavations will be continued during the present year, and may be expected to yield still further important results. Excavations are also going to be undertaken at Belwa in the Saran district, for which the Maharaja of Hathwa has generously promised Rs. 3,000.

Some interesting Satī Memorial stones have been found in the Manbhum district, and have been brought to the Museum. They will be described in the next number of the Journal. Although these Memorial stones are frequent in Central and Western India, they have not hitherto been noticed in this province.

In History some very interesting papers have been contributed. To take them in their chronological order:—

Mr. Vincent Smith¹ calls attention to a Note by Mr. E. H. Parker from the histories of the Tsang Dynasty of China, which shows that the sovereignty of Tibet over Tirhut, or Northern Bihar, which began shortly after the death of King Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj in 647 A. D., lasted for only about half a century until 703 A. D., when both Nepal and Tirhut recovered their independence. The duration of Tibetan rule over Nepal and Northern Bihar has not been hitherto known, and Mr. Sylvain Lévi conjectured that 879 A. D., the epoch of the Newār era of Nepal, might mark the date when Nepal, and with it North Bihar, threw off its allegiance to Tibet.

Shams-ul-ulama Nawab Saiyid Imdad Imam has contributed a paper on the Pirs, or the Muhammadan Saints of Bihar.² Mr. E. A. Horne has given an account of the first English Factory in Patna, 1620-1621 A. D.,³ derived from the letter book kept by Hughes and Parker, the first Factors who were sent from Surat, which have been edited by Sir Richard Temple and published in

¹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III., p. 553.

² *Ibid.*, p. 341.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

the Indian Antiquary. The Factory then experimentally started was soon given up, owing mainly to the cost and danger of transport of the goods, and was not again started as a permanent Factory until several years later.

Mr. S. C. Hill has contributed a Memoir of Major Randfurlic Knox¹ who died in 1764 A. D., and whose tomb stands on the bank of the Ganges in the compound of the Patna District Judge's Court. This Memoir of "the truly gallant major" contains all the information regarding his career that can be collected from historical works and official records in the India Office and the British Museum. The Memoir gives a vivid picture of the training of the cadets of the Royal Artillery and of the conditions of life in the Army in India in those days.

Knox's march from Calcutta to Hajipur, to relieve Patna, was a wonderful feat, and one which would now seem almost impossible considering the conditions under which it was made.

"The length of this march is given as 300 miles, and it was made in the intense heat of the Indian April, the roads were tracks enveloped in clouds of dust, the wide sandy banks of the Ganges had to be crossed twice, yet Knox, marching every yard of the way on foot to prevent any grumbling on the part of his men, carried his party through in less than thirteen days."

Examples of illustrations by the Court painters of Akbar in a unique History of Timur and his descendants, which belonged to the Emperor Shah Jahan and is now in the Khuda Baksh Library at Patna have been given in the June Number and have been described by Khan Sahib Abdul Muqtadir.² The Illustrations are signed by the artists. It is interesting to note that in some cases separate artists were employed for the drawing and for the painting of the picture.

Mr. Jackson is making progress in editing the portions of Buchanan Hamilton's Journal which relate to Bihar districts which will be of considerable interest to this province.

¹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III., p. 90.

² *Ibid*, p. 383.

A Paṇḍit has been appointed to prepare a Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Puri district, and 1,740 manuscripts in the Puri district have already been catalogued. Sir George Grierson suggested a search for two important Manuscripts named respectively the "Prākṛita Sarvasva" and the "Bṛihat Kathā" of Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra. A manuscript copy of the former work has now been secured and attempts are being made to secure a copy of the latter manuscript. A report from the Paṇḍit as to the total number of works on each subject hitherto catalogued by him, with special notice of particularly valuable manuscripts is awaited. For conducting similar work in Bihar, Government have given a grant of Rs. 800 and arrangements have been made in consultation with the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga to employ a suitable Paṇḍit and start work at once. Mahamahopadyaya Hara Prasād Shāstrī has kindly offered to give necessary directions to the Paṇḍits.

The Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga has communicated a valuable paper on the marriage customs of the Maithil Brahmins,¹ of which he is the head. Similar papers on the domestic usages and ceremonies of different sections of the Hindus would be useful for comparison with one another and with the rules laid down in the Shāstras and also with such usages amongst the aboriginal races. The results of such an inquiry might show whether the existing domestic usages and practices of different Hindu castes in so far as they differ from the rules laid down in the Shāstras have any connection with similar usages among the aboriginal tribes, and whether they have been influenced by them. Social contact may account for some common usages but not for all. Such an inquiry is now desirable; as the aboriginal tribes are rapidly modifying their old usages and are gradually becoming Hinduized. Unless action is now taken to record their customs and usages, much valuable material will soon be irretrievably lost to science.

The cultivators' methods of dealing with insect-pests have been described by Mr. H. L. Dutt¹ and their methods of treating plant diseases by Mr. S. K. Basu.² The appearance or disappearance of insect-pests is ascribed to the influence of supernatural agencies and the measures taken against them are therefore *pujās* and *mantras*. The cultivators appear to consider insects to be a law-abiding class; as Mr. Dutt notes that "Another general remedy against all insects much in vogue in Bihar, is to plant a bamboo pole in the affected area and to hang a notice on it on a sheet of paper, requesting the insects to leave the field and to go back to their homes. This notice must contain the names of the zamindar, the owner of the field, and the insect. Some *mantras* are recited when the notice is hung up."

In this province, which contains so many different races and tribes, the field of Folklore is, naturally, large. Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra has recorded a Folk-tale of a new type from North Bihar,³ and compared it with two variants current in Chittagong, and in other parts of Eastern Bengal, respectively. The comparison is interesting. And Babu Sukumar Halder has recorded a number of Riddles and Auguries current among the Hos.⁴

The Birhors and the Asurs are two very interesting tribes dwelling in the hills and jungles of Chota Nagpur and the Pseudatory State of Sarguja. As yet very little is known of them except that they are of migratory habits and are of more primitive habits than the aboriginal tribes like the Mundas, the Santals and the Oraons, with which we are more familiar.

Babu Sarat Chandra Roy has for some time past been making a detailed investigation into the customs and social organization of the Birhors with a view to preparing a monograph on them. The results of his inquiries are being published serially in the Journal. Two of these papers were published in 1916, and

¹ J. R. O. R. S., Vol. XII., p. 560.

² *Ibid.*, p. 564.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 276 and 279.

showed that the primitive institution known as "Totemism" survives amongst this tribe in a more primitive form than in the other aboriginal tribes hitherto studied in India.¹ In two more papers² published in the Journal for 1917, Babu S. C. Roy shows that, like their totemism, the socio-economic as well as the matrimonial and kinship organization of the Birhor tribe are more primitive than those of the more well-known Indian aboriginal tribes. Thus, the marriage of first cousins, which appears to have once been in vogue amongst tribes practising clan-exogamy, but is no longer allowed in such Indian aboriginal tribes as we are familiar with, is still permissible amongst the Bihors, at least theoretically under certain conditions.

During a recent visit to Chota Nagpur, Babu S. C. Roy commenced studying another tribe known as the Asurs³ and found that the totemistic beliefs of this tribe are even more primitive than those of the Bihors, and it is expected that a thorough study of the totemic system of the Asurs may provide fresh data calculated to throw some light on the origin, or at any rate the development and decay, of totemism. Among certain Asurs, Babu S. C. Roy found the same belief which the eminent anthropologist, Sir James Frazer, found amongst certain Australian tribes and designated as "individual totemism," in which every individual acquires his own totem which may be different from that of his parents. It is again to be expected that an exhaustive study of this tribe and of similar other tribes, such as the Korwas of Chota Nagpur and Juangs of the Orissa Feudatory States, may supply new anthropological data.

It is necessary, too, that specimens should be collected of such primitive appliances, instruments, ornaments, and articles of domestic use and objects used in magic, as are still in partial use though in course of being substituted by corresponding articles used by more civilized people. For example, the fire drill, which is not even known by name to many other tribes, is still in partial

¹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II., p. 257 and p. 457.

² J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III., p. 363 and p. 543.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 567.

use among certain jungle tribes of Chota Nagpur, and a variety of the bow, known as the *bagā dhanu*, with which tigers are shot, may also be seen in the hands of jungle tribes in the Chota Nagpur Hills. Since the recent establishment of a Provincial Museum we are endeavouring to make a collection of such articles.

Since our last annual meeting additions have been made to our collection of ornaments and other articles of the Copper Age, besides a number of bronze ornaments and a few bronze utensils and some old pottery found in what are known in Chota Nagpur as Asur graves. As, however, no bronze weapons or implements have yet been found, there are not yet sufficient grounds to predicate the existence of a bronze age following the copper age. Such investigation as Babu S. C. Roy has had time to make would seem to show that a thorough investigation of these Asur sites may yield a rich harvest of early antiquities.

The Provincial Coin Cabinet has now been attached to the Patna Museum, and the report of the Coin Committee for the past year will be incorporated with the Museum report.

A number of silver punch-marked coins have been found in Patna. They will be described in the next Number of the Journal. There has also been an interesting find at the Cape Copper Company's Mines at Rakhā, in Singhbhum, of a number of copper coins of the type which is known as "Puri Kushan". These coins, which are found on the east coast from Bālasore in the north to the mouth of the Godaverī, are crude copies of the coins of the Kushan Emperors. The present find is interesting, apart from other considerations, as indicating their existence in another locality. The coins have been presented to the Museum by Mr. Olden, the Manager of the Cape Copper Company. They will be described in the Journal. Seven coins of alloyed gold of Govinda Singh of the Rahtor dynasty of Kanauj (1106—1182 A. D.) have been found at Khukra Toli in Ranchi; and a number of copper coins of Ibrahim Shah (1400—1440 A. D.) and Mahmud Shah (1440—1458 A. D.), Sultans of Jaunpur, have been found in the same district.

These finds are interesting as showing the intercourse which existed in Mediæval times between Chota Nagpur and the neighbouring States. Khukra was a former capital of the Rajas of Chota Nagpur, and from the "Akbar-nama" and "Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri" appears to have been the name by which Chota Nagpur was then known to Muhammadan writers.¹

The entire collection of articles of antiquaria interest collected by the Society has been formally made over to the Provincial Museum. Several old sculptures besides a number of mineral specimens from this province and objects of ethnographical interest have since been added to the Museum collection. A beautiful polished stone statue of a female carrying a whisk (*chamar*) and possessing the distinctive polish, the naturalness and other characteristics that we associate with Mauryan sculpture has been recently found at Dedarganj near Patna City and is now in the Patna Museum. The statue was brought to light by the erosion of the bank of the Ganges in the flood of last October, which partly uncovered the roughly hewn square base of the statue. This was seen by the son of the landlord of the locality, who had it dug out, thinking it to be an ordinary stone which would be useful for domestic purposes. As the digging proceeded, the fact of its being a statue was revealed. It is interesting to note that a story was at once started to account for the discovery of the statue as miraculous; that a snake had been seen going into a hole in the bank of the river, and that, on the hole being dug out, the snake was found to have disappeared, and the statue was there in its stead! Our thanks are due to Professor Samaddar for having brought the discovery of this statue to my notice, so that steps were at once taken to obtain it for the Museum. Dr. Spooner has promised to write a paper on this statue in the Journal. This statue, like the finds of Dr. Spooner at Kumrahar and Bulandibagh, forcibly brings home to us the fact that every day we are treading on ground which may cover archæological and other remains of great historical importance. This is true not

¹ "The Mundas and their Country," by Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., p.151.

only of this City but of the whole of Bihar. Even if most of us cannot take up the spade and seek to unearth the valuable remains of the past, we may each of us in our own way help forward the aims of the Society by giving information and other assistance to actual workers. All that we have to do is to walk with our eyes and ears open. Information as to the existence of old coins, old inscriptions on rocks and copper-plates, and valuable manuscripts may be communicated by every member.

Any member who may come across any legend or interesting folk-tale may assist by communicating it to the Society. Old family chronicles, too, may be of interest to History or Ethnology and may usefully be forwarded to the Council of the Society for publication of the whole or such portions as may be considered suitable.

Judges, Magistrates and Lawyers can also send notes on peculiar customs that come within their notice, such as the note on the Naek caste sent by Mr. T. S. Macpherson which appeared in the March Number of the Journal,¹ and by Mr. Friend-Pereira² on Traces of the Couvade among the Kui of the Khondmals and the Malē of Rājmahāl, in the Journal of 1915.

Members can also assist by sending photographs of local objects of archæological, architectural or historical interest.

I am sorry to say that the Society is losing Babu Sarat Chandra Roy as Secretary; as he finds that he needs more time to concentrate on his researches into the Asur burial sites in Chota Nagpur and his Ethnological inquiries regarding the Birhors and other aboriginal tribes, which also require him to be away from Patna. Babu Sarat Chandra Roy has been the Honorary Secretary since the institution of the Society and we are all indebted to him for the time and trouble that he has devoted to the Secretary's duties. We look forward to his further investigations in the above subjects.

¹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. III., page 164.

² J. B. O. R. S., Vol. I, page 275.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Gazetteer Literature in Sanskrit.

By Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Shāstrī, M.A., C.I.E.

IN the last Annual Meeting of the Society I announced the existence of a work in Sanskrit of the gazetteer class written about 250 years ago in this Eternal City. The interest it roused made me examine the whole of the gazetteer class literature during the course of the year, and I am giving you to-day the result of that examination.

The work written at Patna is really a gazetteer. It was written under the patronage of a Chouhan Jāgirdār of four parganas round Patna on both sides of the Ganges. He employed a learned Brāhman, named Jagamohan, to give him a description of the fifty-six countries in which the then known world of the Hindus was divided. The work is in the form of an interlocation between Dulāla Vaijala or Deva Vaijala, the patron, and Jagamohan, the compiler. The patron died in the year 1650 A. D. This date is given in three different eras, namely, Saka, Samvat and Kali Yuga. Saka 1572, Kali Yuga 4750 and the Samvat Era is lost. We have "Vikramasya ca" but the chronogram is lost. It may be supposed that by that time the gazetteer of fifty-six countries was either complete or very nearly so. But the death of Vaijala was followed by disorder and the work was neglected. Some parts were lost and the whole was in confusion. The words used in the text are—"Chinna, bhinna", etc. Many years after his death, the Maga-Brāhmanas or the Magii or the Sākadvīpi Brahmanas of the village, which was the home of the Vaijala family, recompiled and revised the fragments available, and in doing so they added the

history of the intervening period. They took ten years to revise the work and the dates when reduced to Christian Era come to 1718 and 1728.

I call this really a work of the gazetteer class. The other works of this class are either *khaṇḍas* or sections of *Purāṇas*, or written by human authors as the narrative of travels of some Pauranic hero. But the Patna work has nothing to do with *Purāṇas* or Pauranic heroes. It is written for the use of contemporaries and contains much useful information about trade, commerce, manufacture, agriculture, history, geography, etc., of the countries. It professes to be based on another work written a century or two before at the request of another member of the Vaijala family, and entitled "VIKRAMASĀGARA". I have got only a few pages of that work, and it seems to me that that work too was written for the benefit of contemporaries and afforded useful gazetteer information.

The Patna work, the name of which is "DEŚĀVALI-VIVRITI" proceeds to give the description of these countries in a perfectly business-like manner. In the preamble it says that it has consulted old works like *Vikrama-Sāgara*, interrogated old and experienced travellers and seen things with its own eyes. This is perfectly scientific and rational. But in this gazetteer for the Hindus, the places of pilgrimage, the holy places and spots figure most prominently. The cities of *Gayā* and *Kāmakhyā* contain long and what would now seem to be intolerably tedious quotations from *Purāṇas* and other scriptures about their holy character and about the deities worshipped there and the sacred functions necessary. Barring this the information is absolutely useful and may even now be studied with profit. I will give some instances, the salt-trade of *Tamluk* in the seventeenth century is given in a short but informing style. The manufacture of cloth of *Chandrakonā* and other places in the district of *Midnapore* are touched upon. The forts in different parts of the country have been described in detail, whether mud, stone or brick, whether surrounded by

trees, bamboos or moats. The number of gates is given and also the mode of defence. The population is very often described, sometimes as consisting of Yavanas or Firingis or Brāhmaṇas or Kāyasthas or Vaidyas, or Navashākhās, or weavers, or traders or Kṣātrīyas of different races or Brāhmaṇas of different *śrenīs*. Sometimes their character is also described: in one place it is stated that they were all thieves; one country is described as full of dacoits and murderers. But the most interesting thing is the description of the products and the articles of trade. Sometimes we get most interesting historical information; for instance, it is stated that the city of Midnapore was founded by Medinīkara, the author of the Medinīkoṣa, a lexicon in Sanskrit second only in importance to the Amarakosa, but arranged in a most scientific manner. It is stated that when the Gazetteer work was written, the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gayā used to be embraced by all pilgrims. Probably there was no Śrāddha under the tree as prescribed in Tārānātha Tarkavāchaspati's Gayā-Paddhati. The writer and the reviser often name historical persons of eminence, such as the Emperors of Delhi,—Akbar, Jehangir, Shah Jehan, Aurangzib—down to Bahadur Shah. It mentions that Pondicherry was in the hands of the Firingis. It gives a short genealogy of the Mahratta family of Tanjore, of the Ruling Chiefs of Rintambore, of Bundelkhund and other places.

I need not dilate upon the usefulness of this most useful work. But I regret to state that I have not yet been able to lay my hand upon a single complete copy of the work. There are many fragments—fragments from the beginning, fragments at the end, and fragments in the middle. Out of fifty-six countries, one fragment contains 18, another 23, a third 22 and other even smaller numbers, and putting them together it is still far short of fifty-six. The countries described are [1] Āṅga or Bhagalpore, [2] Sandhideśa between Āṅga and Gauḍa (Rajmahal, Pirpainthi and the country around them), [3] Sekharabhumī or Pañcakōṭa, [4] Ramgarh comprising Hazaribagh, Chota Nagpur and the jungle mahals, [5] Kikāṭa or Gayā, [6] Pāṭaliputtra, [7] Puṇḍradeśa (here described as between Prayāga and Magadha), [8]

Vandadēsa, [9] Assam, [10] Hemachal, [11] Jammu, [12] Sikkim, [13] Tripura, [14] Cutch, [15] Vedarayogini (Bihar), [16] Bakla including Barisal, [17] Jessore, [18] Manipal (Hugli), [19] Burdwan, [20] Bhanaka, [21] Bishnupur, [22] Sagara, [23] Bhupal, [24] Bundelkhand, [25] Kosala containing Baira and Abadhi, [26] Rajagraha, [27] Virabhūmi, [28] Mallabhūmi, [29] Brāhmanabhūmi, [30] Gaudadēsa, [31] Vandadēsa, [32] Dravidadēsa, [33] Karnāladēsa, [34] Manipura, [35] Durgadēsa, [36] Alapasimha, [37] Mymensingh, [38] Sursanga, [39] Sarayūpara, [40] Gādhidēsa (Ajamgarh), [41] Tāmalīpta (Tamluk), [42] Brajamaṇḍala, [43] Antarvedidēsa.

The manuscripts seem to have been collected for the use of the Fort William College Library, for the library numbers on the manuscripts are written in the same hand as other well-known Fort William College manuscripts. During the distribution of manuscript treasures of that college these manuscripts seem to have fallen to the share of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, where they are still to be found.

These manuscripts are all written in Devanagiri character and in a bold hand. I have only found a fragment in Bengali hand from Bankura, and this fragment is now the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

I have taken too much of your time on one manuscript, but I hope to be excused as the manuscript belongs to the Province of Bihar and to the City of Patna.

My examination of these manuscripts has revealed the fact that for the last 500 years, at least, Hindus and the people of Bihar were striving strenuously to give a full and useful description of the fifty-six countries. The first in this line of work is no less a person than Vidyapati, the charming lyric poet of Mithila whose love-songs are now, thanks to the exertions of Sir George Grierson, the admiration of the world. He was not only a poet but a deeply-read Sanskrit scholar whose works on Smṛiti and religion are still admired in Mithila, who was not only a poet and a scholar but a general and an administrator, and it is in the last capacity that he conceived the idea of a gazetteer of

the sixty-five (and not fifty-six as in other works) countries. His sources of information are Purāṇas, Tantras, old travellers, and what is most important, State records—a source not available to his successors, Jagamohan and Rāmākhya. Though his conception was that of a purely rational and scientific character, Vidyāpati could not rise superior to the influences of his time and wrote it in the form of an expiatory tour of Balarām, the elder brother of Śrī-Kṛiṇa. Vidyāpati's patron Śiva-Simha was then in Mithilā. But Vidyāpati was with Deva-Simha, Śiva-Simha's father at Naimiṣāranya where the idea of the book was conceived. Naimiṣāranya was the place where the R̥sis in ancient times are said to have held long sessions of Vedic sacrifices, and it was during these sessions that the Sūtras recited the Purāṇas. So the place was still in Vidyāpati's time animated as it were, with a historical spirit. Balarām is said to have come there and killed a Sūta in a fit of anger. Brahma-hatyā (this sin of killing a Brāhmana) immediately laid hold upon Balarām in spite of his high and divine birth. The R̥sis advised him to make a tour round the earth and perform all the duties of a pilgrim in the holy places. Balarām left Naimiṣa and came to Drupada's country, Pāñcāla (now Rohilkhand). He saw Drupada's arsenal, Drupada's capital, the shrines consecrated by him and his ancestors as well as villages inhabited by Yogis of modern times. This is the great defect of the Paurāṇic form of a gazetteer, and our great Vidyāpati could not shake off a connection with the Purāṇas in a human and a modern work. From Drupada's country Balarām went to Brāhmāvarta, the place of Svayambhu-Manu and the place of so many ancient and sacred memories. He seems to have an idea that there are two Brāhmāvartas, Laghu and Vṛhat, and they are apart from each other. From Brāhmāvarta he came to the hermitage of Vālmiki. True to his Paurāṇic spirit Vidyāpati sticks to the old names of hermitages, and so on, and he also describes the reception of Balarām in these countries, thus mixing up things, ancient and modern. From Vālmiki's place Balarām comes to Prayāga, the holy places of which are given with some detail. Then he

crosses over to Bharadvāja's grove and recrosses to Pratishthana, thence to Śingavera and along the north bank of the Ganges, he comes to Kāśī. From Kāśī to Sarnāth and the Buddhist remains. Thence following the route of Rāma as given in the Rāmāyana he comes to Gautamāśrama at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sarayu and then to Tāḍakā's place, and after that the hermitage of Chyavana and to Pataliputtra. Vālmiki in his Rāmāyana does not mention Pataliputtra because it did not exist in his time, but Vidyāpati found Pataliputtra to be too well-known a place to be omitted altogether. From Pataliputtra he goes to Tirabhukti and thence to Mithila, and here the patriotic poet revels in the description of the ancient holy places, but alas, for me my manuscript breaks off here before even a third of the sixty-five centuries are described.

The age of Vidyāpati is well known. He belonged to the fifteenth century and he was a long-lived man. I have ascertained his date from a manuscript got in Nepal. While living in a jungle with his patron's family, perhaps fugitives, he got a copy of a Maithilī commentary on the *Kāvya-Prakāśa*, and he employed two scribes to hastily copy it out. They did it and the two hands are discernible throughout the manuscript. The post colophon statement gives the date as 291; reduced to A. D., it will come to 1406 or 1407. The fragment of Vidyāpati's manuscript of the gazetteer contains a date in the post-colophon statement, namely, 1480. It is most probably the scribe's date. So from the fifteenth century the Bihar people are striving to know the countries around them.

The next work in chronological order is the *Vikramasagara*. It was also compiled by a member of the Vaijāla family and was a work of some authority when Jagmohan wrote his work. In his colophon he often says that he quotes from *Vikrama-Sāgara*. We have no means of verifying his statement, but we are not wrong if we infer that in his time *Vikrama-Sāgara* was a well-known work. It is by a mere chance that a very small fragment of *Vikrama-Sāgara* has fallen into my hands. It contains the *Madhukāśyapa*, the preamble and the chapter on Pataliputtra.

It says that Pātaliputra had a king, named Sucandra, who had a Buddhist wife and had Buddhist tendencies. He conceived the idea of conquering fifty-six countries and going eastward he conquered Bengal, Assam, Manipur, Burma, Pegu and other countries. After this information is obtained the work gets mixed up with Jagamohan's work. In Jagamohan's work, too, the chapter on Pātaliputra, though it comes in the middle, contains the accounts of the conquests of one Sugaticandra, who seems to be a mere translation of Sucandra. Who the Sucandra was, I don't know. It may be a faint memory of Chandragupta and the Mauryas. Sucandra is, however, a well-known name in the later Buddhist tradition. He looms large in the works of Kālacak-rayāna and he is not unknown in the Pāli and Burmese literature.

The last work of this class is Pāndava-Digvijaya, cast in the form of the conquest of the world by the four brothers of Yudhisthira as given in the Sabhā-Parvan extended, enlarged and modernized by Rāmakavi, a favourite poet of the Rājā of Śekhara-Bhūmi during the eighteenth century. He draws profusely on his predecessors and enlarges upon them. He is always fuller than Jagamohan. His book is divided into four parts according to the conquests of four brothers. It is a vast storehouse of information from a Hindu point of view. But the condition of the manuscript fragments is deplorable.

It is divided in four parts as Yudhisthira himself did not go out. He sent his four brothers to four quarters for conquests. He sent Bhīma to the east, Nakula to the south, Sahadeva to the west and Arjuna to the north. In Nakula-Digvijaya is given an account of Śalivāhana, the reputed founder of the Saka era. It is a long story. He conquered the whole of India, and last of all he came in conflict with Babhru-Ghotaka, a descendant of Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama era. Śalivāhana was born of a potter's wife by Takśapati Nāgarāja, the king of serpents. But he gained his victories by the grace of Śiva. Much interesting description of countries and tribes is given in the course of the conflict with the king of Ujjain. Many Kṣātriya tribes fled away from his prowess to distant countries

on the banks of the Brahmaputra and Indus, took to other trades and callings and renounced the profession of arms.

After the conquest of the whole of the Kumārikākhaṇḍa or southern peninsula, Nakula went to Ceylon inhabited by a large Buddhist population. There is an account of Buddhism as known in India in the first half of the eighteenth century when the Pāṇḍava-Digvijaya kāvyā was written at Śekharabhūmī by Rāmākavi. Folio, 124 B. :—

चतुः शतौत्तरे पञ्चसहस्राब्दे गते कवेः ।

•यदा नमिषारण्ये च प्राह भागवतं सुदा ॥ ११८६ ॥

सुतस्तदा कौकटे च पञ्चम्यस्तटे सुदा ।

गया राजर्षिदुर्गस्य पूर्वभागे च योजनात् ॥ ११८७ ॥

मायादेव्याः कुक्षिमध्ये श्रुद्धोदनस्य वीर्यतः ।

सुनिर्बुद्धो वेदव्रतो समजायत चेश्वरः ॥ ११८८ ॥

शाक्यसुनिः प्रत्यक्षवादी च देहात्मवादसंरतः ।

अष्टौ शिष्यान् स्थापयित्वा नानादेशान् बिभाय च ॥ ११८९ ॥

नवतत्त्वप्रकाशं च तथाशास्त्रं देवताम् ।

भूतार्हदेवतानां च अर्हकाण्डविनिर्ययम् ॥ ११९० ॥

नानाविधोपासनं हि तथा पर्वतनिर्ययम् ।

मागधदेशोयभाषणं संपेदे यत्नतः खलु ॥ ११९१ ॥

अमराचार्यं वृषाचार्यं मगाचार्यो हति बुद्धिमान् ।

विह्वाचार्यो निःश्रेयसाचार्यं सुगताचार्यं एव हि ॥ ११९२ ॥

सौमताचार्यो हि भूपाल तथा योगाचार्य एव हि ।

माध्यमिकाचार्यो मध्यदे श्च पञ्चिकान् जितवान् वचा ॥ ११९३ ॥

निदीश्वरवादिभूषण आदिचत्वारः खलु हि ।

वेदाचारक्रिया कष्टा अपरे देहचारिणः ॥ ११९४ ॥

भगवाचार्थो ज्ञानराक्षसार्थश्च किराते बुद्धस्यार्थकः ।

वृषाचार्यो सिद्धाचार्यश्च चोमे निहल एव हि ॥ ११५५ ॥

महाबुद्धमतं द्वाभ्यां स्थापितं जलधेः कुत्रे ।

उपदीपे च वाताग्निमंजुके मानवेष्टु च ॥ ११५६ ॥

ब्रह्मगिरेः सकाशां च द्विमजातगिरेस्तटे ।

मौढे कोदयनाचार्या च शंकराचार्यतो रुप ॥ ११५७ ॥

सुखसन्निधिश्रान् तोरमुक्तौ तथा भट्टात्पराजिताः ।

अगरे चत्वारो जनाः जिनमार्गविषयज्ञाः ॥ ११५८ ॥

आस्त्ववतत्त्वं कल्याणतत्त्वं आगमस्तत्त्वमेव च ।

ज्ञानतत्त्वं जीवतत्त्वं संवेदनतत्त्वमेव च ॥ ११५९ ॥

गिरितत्त्वं व्यवहारतत्त्वं च पतितत्त्वं सुशोभनः ।

नवतत्त्वान्विताः सर्वे बुद्धमार्गैयमानवाः ॥ ११६० ॥

चक्रश्वरी कालिका च दुष्टानां फलदायिनी ।

महाकाली रक्तप्रिया शत्रूणां जिनघर्मिणः ॥ ११६१ ॥

दुष्टितारिप्रचातिवज्रो पापिनां दण्डकारिणी ।

श्यामा तपोवनस्था च कौकटस्यैव पूर्वगे ॥ ११६२ ॥

शान्ता शान्तजने जेने व्यवहारे सुखप्रदा ।

भट्टकटिः कामपूरा च सैकटोद्धारिणी मता ॥ ११६३ ॥

गिरिनारगिरौ पूज्या विशदा च सुनारकाः ।

व्यवहारप्रज्ञदात्रो मानिनी मानवर्धिनो ॥ ११६४ ॥

जिनमार्गरतानां च शोकत्रयविनाशिनो ।

अशोका सर्वदा लोके जैनानां गृहवातिनी ॥ ११६५ ॥

विद्यादात्रो विदिता च वाक्केष्टु चिदप्रसू च ।

एता कलहकारिणी च वादेष्वास्तिकमानवा ॥ ११६६ ॥

अन्तु की भिन्न नृचर्माभितवान् बुद्धवर्णं च ।

पातयामास रभसा प्राञ्चिनां हितकारिणी ॥ ११६७ ॥

कर्णयोवितां विज्ज' खदा मद्गवर्धिनी ।

वेनानां आन्यधर्मस्य वर्धिनी सर्वदा नृयाम् ॥ ११६८ ॥

निर्वाणो विज्जमार्गाणां नृतानां देहपातको ।

देहे नष्टे च निर्वाणं जायते च प्रभावतः ॥ ११६९ ॥

सर्वेषां मानवानां च जिनमतपारगामिनाम् ।

नृदेहं मरयं मोक्षयन्त्र देहोद्भिन्नो न जोककः ॥ ११७० ॥

All the 24 Śāsana-devatās are mentioned here. It says that Bhūcandra preached Buddhism in Māgadhi at Pieslavana and Lakramoca in Ceylon.

After 2400 years from the commencement of the Kali Yuga when Sūta was expounding the Bhāgavata at Naimiṣāranya Buddhadeva was born in Kikāṭa as the son of Śuddhodhana and Māyādevī. He preached that there is no soul beyond this body and that death itself is Nirvāṇa. He had many followers, some of whom went to Ceylon, some to China, some to Kirātadeśa and some to the eastern peninsula. At one time they defeated in argument all the great scholars of Mūlhyadeśa, but later on they were themselves defeated by Saṃkaracāryya, Udayanācāryya and Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Maṇḍana Miśra.

The author Rāmkaṇi here confounds the Bauddhas, Jainas and the Cārvākas, and says that the Bauddhas had 24 Śāsana-devatās and believed in Navatattva. But his description of Ceylon and the monasteries is full, though not at all accurate. The author says that Kārtika was the God much worshipped in Ceylon, but he was cursed by his wife and in consequence he was banished from Ceylon and replaced by Buddha.

Sahadeva's Digvijaya relates to the western countries and as Nakula's task was easily accomplished and Sahadeva's task was very hard, Yudhiṣṭhira commanded that they should lead a joint

expedition. In this expedition the countries conquered are:—Arab, Persia, Bulk, Turkistan, Badaksan as well as Burma, the two Chinas and Siam.

Bhima's conquest commences from the north of Punjab. He carries his victorious arms to Amṛteśvara (perhaps Amaranath), Jambu, Sialkot, Lahore, Sarayupāra, Gandak and the countries comprised in the modern provinces of Bengal and Bihar. In these two provinces Rāmkavi seems to follow the lead of Jagamohan, making his description fuller, more modern and more interesting.

Arjuna's Digvijaya is given within a small compass and he sometimes coalesces with Bhima. The author is not very distinct in his geography or in his bearings. If Indraprastha is to the starting point of the four brothers it is inexplicable how Sahadeva conquers the countries on the Vitasta and Sinhu while Bhima conquers Jammu and Sialkot. Peshwar is given as the capital of Śivi Rājā.

Rāmkavi gives a date of his compilation in a chronogram, "Randhrābhinetracandraistu gaṇite vatsare", i.e., 1370 of some unknown era.

These are the works written by human beings for the use of human beings and for terrestrial objects, but there are other works affiliated to the Purāṇas. But before taking them up I should examine the question whether the above four works were written in imitation of Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari and my answer is in the negative. Vidyāpati certainly belonged 150 years before Abul Fazl. And Vikrama-Vaijala, the author or patron of Vikrama-Sāgara cannot come later than Abul Fazl, because in the first half of the sixteenth century Jagamohan extensively used Vikrama-Sāgara. Jagamohan and Rāmkavi may have borrowed something from Abul Fazal, but that borrowing must be very slight as his point of view of writing these works was entirely different from that of Abul Fazl's. These are in no sense State documents; they are intended for the use of Hindu people describing as they do specially the places of pilgrimage and the rules of performing ceremonies.

The great work of a Pauranic nature is the *Brahmakhaṇḍa* of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*. It also professes to give the description of the fifty-six countries to the east and west of Bengal and Bihar, and it is very full from Benares to Manipur. As a *Purāṇa* it is a great moral admonitor, and it vehemently criticizes the particular vices prevailing in particular parts of the country. Though it is supposed to be written by *Vyāsadeva* at the end of the *Dvāpara Yuga*, it is a very modern compilation. It gives the story of *Vidyā* and *Sundara* at *Burdwan* which has been popularized by *Bhāratacandra* whose poem, entitled "*Vidyā Sundara*" was completed in the year 1753. There are other indications also that it is a very late compilation. It speaks of the last Muhammadan capital of Bengal as "*Morasidabad*" a name which it got from *Murshid Kuli Khan* in 1704. It is very likely that an old Pauranic work has received several revisions or has been seriously interpolated.

It is a pity that we get only fragments. The order in which the countries have been described is not to be found anywhere. The jumps from *Varendra* to *Dravida* from *Haramba* to *Rintambore* appear to be inexplicable, so until good manuscripts come out of the search instituted by this Society, you may get interesting extracts from these fragments, but the hope of properly editing the book will be a far distant contingency if it be not hopeless altogether.

II.—The Brihadratha Chronology (Cir. 1727—727 B.C.).

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.).

I.—The post-War Kings.

1. The Purāṇas divide the Brihadratha dynasty of Magadha, like any other dynasty, into two main chronological groups: (1) those who flourished before the Mahā-Bhārata War and (2) those who flourished after the War. On the basis of the calculations set forth in my paper on the Śaśunāka and Maurya chronology¹

A new datum: 700 years for the post-Mahā Bhārata Brihadrathas.

for the dates of the Śaśunākas and the Mahā-Bhārata War, I came to the conclusion that the post-Mahā-Bhārata

Brihadrathas covered 697 years.² Now I find a confirmation of that conclusion in a Purāṇic datum which was not accessible to me when I wrote my above paper (1913). This datum is found in a rare manuscript of the Matsya Purāṇa, at present in the India Office Library³ (No. 331; Jackson collection).⁴

2. The Purāṇas (the Vāyu, Brahmanḍa and Matsya) after chronicling the reigns of the Magadha Sovereigns from Sahadeva 'who fell in the Bhārata war' up to Ripunjaya, give the following line to close the Brihadratha dynasty:—

राजिंश्च वृषा ह्येते भवितारो दृष्टव्याः पूर्वं वर्ष-सहस्रं वै तेषां
राज्यं भविष्यति ॥

¹ J.B.O.E.S., I, 111-112 The accession of Mahā-Nanda falls in 409 B.C., and the birth of Parikshit or the end of the Mahā-Bhārata War (1015 + 409) in 1424 B.C.

² "The Purāṇas give 1,000 years to Brihadrathas. But the post-Mahā-Bhārata Brihadrathas are only 32 and there are 12 pre-Mahā-Bhārata princes of the Brihadratha dynasty. The Śaśunāka dynasty commences in 727 B.C. on the extinction of the Brihadrathas. To the credit of the post-Mahā-Bhārata Brihadrathas thus there would be only (1424—717) 697 years". J.B.O.E.S., I, 111-12.

³ Pargiter, Purāṇa Text, p. xxii.

⁴ Pargiter, P.T., p. 17.

"The latter (*etc*) are the 32 Future Brihadrathas. The rule of the Brihadrathas (*teshām*) will indeed (cover) full thousand years." *Teshām* does not, as it cannot, refer to the 32 Future Kings : for them *etc* has been used.

The rare copy of the Matsya referred to above omits these two lines and gives the following ones instead :—

भोक्शते नृपा ज्ञेया भवितारो उद्दन्धाः । कयो विंशतिं च तेषां
राज्यं च शतवत्सकम् ।

"The latter (*etc*) sixteen kings are known as the *Future Brihadrathas*. The reign of the above (*teshām*) (the post-Mahā-Bhārata Brihadrathas) is of seven centuries, and their (regnal) age over 20 years (each)''.

The employment of the different pronouns *etc* and *teshām* in this case too shows that the two statements contained in the two lines refer to two independent subject-matters.

3. Again, the post-Mahā-Bhārata Kings of the main dynasties have been divided into three classes : for instance, the post-Mahā-Bhārata Brihadrathas are divided into the 'Past', the 'Present' and the 'Future' [=later] Brihadrathas. The dividing line between the Past and the Future (=the former and latter) kings consists of the kings *at present reigning*. These 'present kings' lived some six or seven generations after the Mahā-Bhārata War. One of these kings was Adhisīma (or Adhisāma)-Kṛishṇa of the Paurāva dynasty under whose patronage the Purāṇic data of what was then considered the past history, seem to have been originally collected.⁵ The contemporary of Adhisīma-Kṛishṇa in Magadha was Senājit, the 7th in my list of the post-Mahā-Bhārata Brihadrathas.⁶ The narration about the Kings before Senājit is put in the Purāṇas in the past tense and that of the latter ones in the future. Thus these kings who came after Senājit were the

⁵ अधिसामकृष्ण घर्मात्मा साम्प्रतीकं महावज्रः ।

यस्मिन् प्रयासति मही युष्मां भिरिदमाहृतम् ॥ Vāyu, 37. 282.

⁶ J.B.O.R.S., I. 112.

Future Bṛihadrathas. As to the number of these Future Bṛihadrathas proper, in the list of the post-Mahā-Bhārata Bṛihadrathas I have given 15 kings (Nos. 8—15 or 16 Future Bṛihadrathas. 22)* after Senājī (the 'present' king).

One more name is further clearly traceable. A manuscript of the Vāyu (Jones MS. W. 6 a, T37 in the India Office Library) places *Satru-jyīn* after Subala (or Suchala, No. 18 of my list) : *rājyam Suchā'o bhokshyati atha Satru-jyī tatak.*⁷

4. It seems that the writer of the rare datum of the Matsya 700 years against 33 or 32 had the data before him which occur in every Purāṇa, viz., that the Bṛihadrathas enjoyed sovereignty for full 1,000 years, that the figure for the number of the kings which stood at the foot of the list of the post-Mahā-Bhārata Bṛihadrathas, including both the Past and the Future ones, was 32 or 33, and that the whole lot of the 32 or so had been called "the Future Bṛihadrathas". The writer of our datum to be more accurate notes that the Future Bṛihadrathas were only 16. Likewise he considered the 1,000 years (which really represents the period for the whole Bṛihadratha dynasty),⁸ placed at the close of the post-Mahā-Bhārata Bṛihadrathas, misleading. So he puts down the total of the reigns of the post-Mahā-Bhārata Bṛihadrathas as 'seven centuries' of course, in round numbers⁹. The writer seems to have accepted that the total number of the post-Mahā-Bhārata Bṛihadrathas—those who reigned before Senājī and those after him, including Senājī—was 32 or 33, for he gives the average reign-period as "above 20 years" ($\frac{700}{33} = 21.21$).

5. My calculations as observed above based on the dates for the War and the Śāisunākas gave 697 years already found 697 years already found against the 'seven centuries'. years for the post-Mahā-Bhārata Bṛihadrathas. And if we took the least figures for the individual reigns as they are to be found in the

* J.B.O.R.S., I. 112.

⁷ Pargiter, P. T., 16, n. 83.

⁸ See *infra*, § 6.

⁹ Compare it with the emphatic "a full thousand years" for the whole line.

Purāṇas now before us, we also get 697 years, as shown in J.B.O.R.S., I, 42. Against this we have 700 of the *Matsya* MS. This might be taken as a complete confirmation, considering the looseness implied in 'Seven centuries' and the treatment of the fractions of a year by the Purāṇic chronicles. 697 might as well be treated as 698. In view of the fondness of the Hindu chroniclers for round numbers, it would be quite natural to express 697 or 698 as 'seven centuries'¹⁰.

6. Mr. Pargiter's explanation of the four lines of the above data might be considered before closing the subject. Both Mr. Pargiter¹¹ and myself¹² take the "full 1,000 years" to refer to the complete line of the *Bṛihadrathas*.¹³ But Mr. Pargiter says that the figure 32 for the kings refers to the whole dynasty (10 before and 22 after the War). This view is untenable for three reasons: (1) The pronoun *ete* ('these', 'the last spoken of,' 'the latter') for the 32 can refer only to the post-Mahā-Bhārata kings who are just described above. With reference to 1,000 years altogether a distinctive pronoun (*iśā-ām*) is used. According to the rules of Sanskrit grammar both cannot denote one and the same subject-matter. (2) It is possible to describe the post-Mahā-Bhārata *Bṛihadrathas* as the 'Future' (Later) *Bṛihadrathas* as they all come after the War and a very large number of them consists of the Future *Bṛihadrathas* proper. But it would be impossible to describe the kings who reigned before the Mahā-Bhārata War as 'Future Kings' as in the eye of the Purāṇic chronicler they pre-eminently belong to his Past History (his Modern History beginning with the Mahā-Bhārata War). (3) On Mr. Pargiter's explanation the two

¹⁰ Cf. 360 for the exact 362 of the dynastic total for the Śatavāṇas. J.B.O.R.S., I, 69.

¹¹ Pargiter, P.T., 13.

¹² J.B.O.R.S., I, 111.

¹³ That it must refer to the whole dynasty is further evident from the Purāṇic datum counting only 1,015 years from the birth of Parikṣit to the coronation of Mahā-Nanda who was about the last sovereign of the Śatavāṇa dynasty and who flourished 318 years after the extinction of the *Bṛihadrathas*.

sets of statements in the text of the four lines quoted cannot be reconciled. 700 or 723¹⁴ years taken for the whole dynasty would discredit the full 1,000 years as recognized by Mr. Pargiter¹⁵. Although the learned writer says that 'If we read *vayo* in jMt. with that construction (treating the *śloka* as containing two independent statements), the total period would be 700 years and would give an average reign of just under 22 years which would be "vimsāhikam" (p. 13), he stops short. He is precluded from recognizing the obvious significance that the 700 refers to the post-Mahā-Bhārata kings and 1,000 to the whole dynasty, owing to his unfortunate supposition that the 32 'future kings' included also the *past* Bhīhadrathas who are enumerated before the Mahā-Bhārata War.

II.—A Reconstruction.

7. As I have already pointed out, the present recension of the Purāṇas expressly indicate that they omit the unimportant names from the dynastic lists, although they preserve the period by including them in the preceding or succeeding reign.¹⁶ We do not know how many names from the post-Mahā-Bhārata Bhīhadrathas were originally omitted. The present lists give generally only 22: 7 up to Senajit (including him) and 15 after. The present list is thus short of at least 10 names (32—22). Three of them, without reigns, however, are clearly traceable.

The king next to *Senajit* is *Śatruñjaya*. After *Śatruñjaya* Mr. Pargiter gives *Vibhu*. But with *Vibhu* I gave in my list (J.B.O.R.S., I. 113) *Makābala* which on the materials then before me appeared to me as a distinct name. Between *Śatruñjaya* and *Vibhu* the Brahminḍa gives *Ripuñjaya*; MSS. of the *Vishnu* also read *Ripu* and *Ripuñjaya* (Pargiter, p. 15, n. 43), and a copy of the *Vāyu* here as well as a MS. of

¹⁴ This is obtained by Mr. Pargiter by reading *vayo* of the MS. *astroyo*. Apart from disregarding the actual reading, the proposal disregards the existence of the disjunctive *cha*. कर्त्तुं विद्मः किञ्चित् कर्त्तुं न शक्यम् *च* न शक्यम् P. T. 17.

¹⁵ Pargiter, P. T., 13.

¹⁶ J.B.O.R.S., I. 67.

1483 A.D. at the India Office Library (No. 2108) suggests *Mahābala* as a distinct king. Both the Brahmanḍa and Vāyu do not give him any reign period although they describe him as a very great king (*mahādūddhi*, *mahā-bala-parākrama*). It seems therefore clear that one name *Mahābala-Bipuñjaya* has to come between Nos. 8 and 9 of my old list.

In the Vāyu we have *Nirvṛiti* and *Eman*,¹⁷ 58 years, while the Matsya omits *Eman* and retains only *Nirvṛiti* (No. 14 of my old list) and the Brahmanḍa omits *Nirvṛiti* and retains only 'King *Eman*.'¹⁸ The period, however, uniformly remains 58 years. This illustrates the method of pruning adopted by the Purāṇas.

The third king who can be clearly traced in *Satruñjaya* is who is given by the MS. dated in 1483 A.D. after Subala or Suehala (No. 18 of my old list): *rājyam suśāla bhakṣayati atha Satruñjayi taduk* (Pargiter, p. 16, n. 83).

8. It has been already suggested (J.B.O.R.S., I, 112) that it is possible to find some of the miss-

ing names in the variants found in

different Purāṇas. It is possible that each set might represent two names of the same monarch. An examination of each case might enable us to decide whether the different Purāṇas have preserved different kings (as in the case of *Nirvṛiti* and *Eman*) or one and the same. There are three sets of variant names in the Bṛihadhratha list, Nos. 13, 15, and 17 of my old list.

(1) *Sunetra*, 50, 25, 35, 25 or 50 years (different MSS. of the Matsya); *Dharmanetra* 'full 5 years' (Vāyu, Brahmanḍa); *Dharmakṣetra* in the Bhāgavata and *Dharma* in the Garuḍa and Vishnu.

Here *Dharmanetra* and *Sunetra* seem to be identical. The *pañcha* (five) which has been turned into *pañchāśat* (50), occurs in an old MS. dated in 1525 (India Office Library, No. 1918). Two hundred years later we get it as *Pañcha-trimśat* and *pañcha-vimśati*.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Eman* has been missed by Mr. Pargiter, P.T. 16, n. 66.

¹⁸ भोज्ये इति विज्ञेयं अथवाज्ञेयं खम्, Br. 74. 117.

In the Vāyu MSS. एसा (वेसा), P. T. 16a. 66.

¹⁹ For a study of the misreadings see PT. 16, Ns.

(2) *Trineta*, 28 years (Matsya) : *Susrama*, 38 (Brahmāṇḍa, Vishnu, Garuda) : *Srama* (Bhāgavata) : *Suvrata* (Vāyu).

In this case there is no affinity in form or in meaning and the readings also in the two sets are different: जिनेचो भोवले महीम् (M.) against वृत्रमस्य भविष्यति (V., Br.) It seems that the reign-periods of two kings are incorporated into the figures 28 or 38 and that the Matsya showed preference to *Trineta* while the Vāyu and Brahmanḍa to *Susrama*.

(3) *Mahī-netra*, 33 years (Matsya) : *Sumati*, 20 (Vāyu MSS., Br., 38).

Again this appears to be a case of incorporating one reign-period into another, 20 or 23 years of *Sumati* and the reign of *Mahīnetra* added together into 33. The names too are different.

Thus the two last variant sets might represent four instead of two kings. In that case we would be recovering three certain (§ 7), and two probable names out of the ten Bṛihadrathas latterly omitted.

I take this opportunity to correct a mistake. I took *Apratīpa* as a variant (J.B.O.R.S., I, 112). But it is really a misspelling of *Ayutāyus* (No. 3) as pointed out by Mr. Pargiter. PT., p. 14.

Reconstructed List of the Post-Mahā-Bhārata Bhīhadrathas.

9. We can now reconstruct the list of the post-War Bhīhadrathas in the light of the above discussions as follows :—

Years.	Serial No.	Kings.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
B. C. 1727—1424	...	<p>PRE-WAR BHĪHADRATHAS ...</p> <p>1727 B.C. d. of Vasu the <i>chauidy-oparichara</i>; acc. of Bhīhadratha and foundation of Magadha dynasty (1,000 years before the Śaśunāka dynasty, 727 B.C., J.B.O.R.S., I. 114).</p> <p>Cir. 1439 B.C. d. of Jarāsandha, acc. of Sahadeva.</p> <p>Cir. 1438 B.C. Rājasūya of Yudhiṣṭhira.</p> <p>1424 B.C. Sahadeva d. in the Mahā-Bharata War.</p> <p>POST-MAHA-BHĀRATA-BHĪHADRATHAS.</p> <p>(i) <i>The "Past Kings."</i></p>	<p>About 15 generations, as they are contemporaries to about 16 kings of the Ikshvāku dynasty (J. R. A. S., 1910, 29), 12 names are traceable (J.B.O.R.S., I, 111, n).</p> <p>Date based on that of the Mahā-Bharata War (J. B. O. R. S., I, 110). The Pāṇḍavas were 14 years in exile before the War.</p>
B. C. 1424—1366	1	Somādhi, 58 (V., M., Br.) ...	'Successor' to Sahadeva (M.), his son (V. Br.). Capital at Girvi- raja.

Years.	Serial No.	Kings.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
1366—1306	2	Śrutāravas, 60 (V.; Br. M.; 64).	Son of the above (V., Br.); 'flourished in his line' (M).
1306—1280	3	Ayutāyus, 26 (Br. M. V.).	
1280—1240	4	Nirāmītra, 40 (M.; V.; Br. <i>śatam</i>).	
1240—1190	5	Sukshatra, 50 (M.; Br.; V. 58, 50).	
1190—1167	6	Brihat-karman, 23 (V.; Br., M., 23, 22).	
		(ii) <i>The "Present" King.</i>	
1167—	7	Sonājī, 'at present ruling'; no figure in Br., V.; M., 500 or 105.	Reign period possibly included in the next reign.
		(iii) <i>"Future" Kings.</i>	
—1132	8	Śatruñjaya 35 (Wilson's V. 35; V., Br. M., 40).	
Dir. 1132	9	Mahābala or Ripuñjaya I (V., Br.; no years given).	Described as a great king; 'very powerful', 'very wise.'
—1107	10	Vibhu, 25 (V. 25; Br. 35; M. 28).	
1107—1101	11	Śuchi, 6 (M. 58 and 6, i.e., "58" copied from another place; V. 58; Br. 58).	
1101—1073	12	Kshema, 28 (Br. V.; M. 28 or 38 or 22).	
1073—1013	13	Suvrata, 60 (V., M. 60 64; Br. 64).	
1013—1008	14	Dharmanetra, 5, (M. <i>Sunetra</i> , 35, 25, 50; V. Br. 5).	See discussion above, § 8.

Years.	Serial No.	Kings.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
1008—950 {	15	Nirvriti } 58 (V. Br. M.) ...	See discussion above. Bh and Vi., omit both
	16	Eman }	
950—922 {	17	Trinetra.	
	18 (?)	Susrama, 28 (M.; V, 58, 38, Br. 38).	
922—914	19	Dridhasena, 8 (Br., V, '40 and 10 and 8' or, V., '40 and 100 and 8', M. '40 and 8', i.e., 4) copied out from another line).	
914—	20	Sumati ... } 20 (V., 20, 33 ; Br. 14,	
. — 894	21 (?)	Mahinetra ... } 33).	See discussion above.
894—872	22	Subala ... 22 (or Suchala, V., 22 ; M., 32 ; Br., 40).	
Cir. 872	23	Śatrujaya	
—832	24	Sunetra ... 40 (Br., V. ; M., generally omits).	
832—802	25	Satyajit ... 30 (Br., 30, 83 ; V., 30, 83).	M. generally omits.
802—777	26	Viśvajit ... 25 (Br., V. ; M., 25, 35, 53)	
777—727 B.C.	27	Ripuñjaya (II) 50 (Br., V. ; M.)	An old copy of V (1483 A. C.) says, "all of them (Future Kings) were very powerful kings" instead of the reading "32 kings."

III.—The Terms “Anusamyāna,” “Rājūkas” and “Former Kings” in Asoka’s Inscriptions.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

(1)

‘Anu-samyāna’

This term occurs in ‘Rock Edict’ III and in the two separate ‘Edicts’ of Kalinga (Jaugadh and Dhauli). Dr. Kern gave it the meaning “tour of inspection”, and others, “assembly”. Both interpretations are unsatisfactory.

The ‘assembly’ interpretation is opposed to the context. Every time anusamyāna occurs it is coupled with a verb ‘to go out’, ‘to be turned out’:

Dhauli.

Jaugadh.

(a) एताये अठाये हकं धमते
पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु निखामं
यिसामि

(a) पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसंयानं
निखामसिमौ

(b) उज्जेनित्ते पि चु कुमाले एतायेव
अठाये निखामयिस ह्दिस्
मेव वगं

(c) ते महामाता निखमिसंति
अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु
अतने कमं एतं पि जानि
संति

(c) अद अनुसंयानं निखमिसंति
अतने कमं ए.....

“Rock Edict III”—

(d) सवता विजितसि मन युता लज्जे पादेसिके पंचसु, पंचसु, वसेसु,
अनुसयानं निखमंतु (Kalsi) = निखातु (Girnār) = निक्रमंतु
(Shahbazgarhi) = निक्रमंतु (Mansera) = निखमावू (Ka-
linga).

If we compare the passages marked (a) of Dhauli and Jaugadh above, we find 'going out' or 'being turned out' (causative) is treated as equivalent of *anu-saṃ-yāna*. *Exit* cannot denote 'coming together' or 'assembling'. *Anu-saṃ-yāna* therefore has not been used in the sense of 'assembly'. Literally it means 'going together', 'departure' (*saṃ-yāna*), 'in sequence' or 'regularly' (*anu*). Now the passage marked (b) contemplates the departure of the whole body (*varga*). This collective body was the body of High Ministers or *mahā-mātras* according to passage (c). Would the whole body of the High Ministers, who as at Taxila and at Ujjain were charged with the government of the Presidency or Viceroyalty, 'go out' or 'be turned out together' for the purposes of going on an official tour? The result would be that the capital would be without a single minister during the alleged 'tour'. The object of the 'going out', as stated in the Kalinga records, conclusively negatives the 'tour' interpretation. The High Ministers owing to the method of 'going out' were expected to remember their business and not to neglect it (passage C), and according to the passage preceding (a) 'the going out' was necessary to stop oppression to the 'citizens' of Tosali:—

नगल-जनस अकस्मा पलिवीधे व अकस्मा पलिकिवेसे व न सिया ति
एताये च अटाये हकं (etc., then follows passage (a)—

Why should the Ministers go out on tour *from* the capital (उज्जनिते, तखसिलाते while the idea is to stop oppression on the men *in* (Tosali) the capital? Why should the whole body of Ministers 'go out' or 'be turned out' on a tour to stop oppression to the 'city-body' or "city-men" (capital-men, *Nagara-jana*)? Why should the provision of going out on tour make the ministers mindful of their business?

Hindu Politics and the Divyāvadāna explain the riddle. The "going out" is going out of office or an official transfer.

The *Sūkra-nīti* provides for the transfer of cabinet ministers with their two under-secretaries every three, five, seven, or ten years, for "authority in the hand of any one should not be long."

अथैकस्मिन्निवत्तयेत् ।

त्रिभिर्वा पञ्चभिर्वापि ऋषभिर्देशभिश्च वा ।

II. 110.

वाग्निकारं चिरं दद्यादस्मै कस्यै सदा नृपः ॥

II. 111.

Asoka provides for a five-yearly transfer in Orissa. But he shortens the period with regard to the Ministries at Ujjain and Taxila to three years :

नो च अतिकामयिषति तिनि वसानि

हेमेव तस्मिन्निवत्तिपि (following passage b)

The Divyāvadāna relates the revolt of the Paura-jana or the Capital-body* of Takshasilā in Asoka's reign. When the Kumāra or Prince-Viceroy is sent there the Paura comes forward to welcome him and says that they were "neither against the Prince nor the King" but against the wicked-minded Ministers who had come and who had insulted them.

श्रुत्वा तच्चक्षिणा पौरा रत्नपूर्णं घटादिकान् ।

गच्छ प्रत्युज्जगामाशु बहुमान्यान् नृपात्मजम् ॥

प्रत्युद्गम्य कृतार्जुनसिखाय । न वयं कुमारस्य विद्वद्धा न राज्ञो-
ऽशोकस्यापि तु दुष्टात्मानोऽमात्या आगत्यास्माकमपमानं कुर्वन्ति । (p. 407).

Here there is a clear reference to newly-come ministers. Asoka in his inscription enjoins on the Kumāra at Taxila not to overstep the period of three years in "turning out" the Ministers at his provincial capital. He, it should be noted, assures the people of Kalinga and the Capital-body at Tosali that Ministers have to go out every five years in accordance with *dharma*, that is, *rāja-dharma* or principles of government. Thereby he would lessen the chances of oppression to the City-body. Asoka declares that to see that the Capital-body is not put to sudden trouble अकस्मात्पलिक्लेशे and sudden excitement (पलिवोधे), he 'will

* For *jana* in the collective sense, compare *janam dhamma-yutam*, 'the Ecclesiastical service,' P. E., VII.

according to dharma make the Ministers go out', and "those will become Ministers who are not rough and violent."

ए अखखमे अचंड खखिनाजमे होवति, D#.

=महामातं अचंडं अकवहतं..... Jau.

As the capital-body or citizens of Taxila were more sensitive to "insults" from ministers the tenure of office was made shorter. A defined period of office was regarded as a salutary provision as reminding the Ministers of their limited sojourn and making them mindful of their responsibility.

(2)

Transfers and Direction to Accounts Department.

In view of the above-interpretation 'Rock Edict' III should be translated now as follows :—

इ वाडस—वसाभिहितेन मे इयं आनपयिते खवता विजितसि मम युता खलुके प्रादेशिके [=युता च राजूके च प्रादेशिके च, Girnar] पंचसु, पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमंतु एताये अथाये इमाये धमनु-सयिया यथा अन्यायेपि कमाये पजिसा पि युतानि मननसि अनपयिसेति ।.....

"After the twelfth year of my coronation, I issued this order :

'All over my country my officers, both the Rājūkas and the Prādeśikas, every five years must go out of office regularly and together (in a body).

"The Council (of Ministers) shall also direct the officers, in the Gaṇanā Department in this, as in any other matter, as well as in the matter of the following dharma-recommendation."

[I have thankfully adopted the interpretation of *gaṇanasi* as proposed by my friend Mr. Bhandarkar. It is in accordance with the data in the Artha-Śāstra.]

The general order for a five-yearly transfer was passed in the 13th year. It was applicable to the whole empire. The exceptions with regard to Taxila and Ujjain would, therefore, come later. The Kalinga proclamations were thus of a date subsequent to the 12th regnal year elapsed.

The Department of State-Accounts (the Gaṇanā) was required to take note of the order of the five-yearly transfers, 'going out.' They were expected to insist, in their own way, on its compliance. They, according to the Artha-Śāstra, received from the Mahā-mātras collectively despatches and statements relating to their collective responsibilities (page 64).

The second order of the Emperor in 'Edict' III is that a particular *dharmānūsasti* * should be also brought to the notice of the Gaṇanā service. The Emperor expects the Council to instruct in the matter of the dharma-anuśasti as they instruct the Department in ordinary matters of business. Why this semi-religious order along with the administrative order of the transfer-rule? The *anuśasti* is apparently some quotation or injunction of the Dharma or Buddhism. Obedience to parents, liberality, and sacredness of life are coupled there with 'economy' (*apavyayutā* and *apa bhāṇḍatā*). *Bhāṇḍāgāra* in Pali means 'Treasury' (Jātaka, I. 504), *bhāṇḍa* would thus be money. In the language of the Mauryan Secretariat, it meant revenue or surplus-revenue sent by Provinces under seal and with yearly statements (Artha-Śāstra, page 64). *Apa-bhāṇḍata*, therefore, means 'keeping away from balance' and *apa vyayutā*, 'keeping away from expenditure', both denoting 'economy' in State-expenditure. The old interpretation, 'avoidance of bad language', cannot stand as the word is *bhāṇḍa*, not *bhāṇḍa* (see Girnar where long forms are preserved). The dharma passage would have meant ordinary, home economy. But the quotation could yield the technical connotation and suited the emperor and his state finance. He pointed out, to practise economy was as sacred according to the Dharma as Reverence to parents. The Emperor was thus telling the Gaṇanā Department that to keep a watchful eye on items of State-expenditure was a sacred duty. It is probably implied that no allowance to the Ministers after the fifth year is to be sanctioned by the Department, as that would be unlawful expenditure.

* बाध मातरि पितरिः च सुसूखा, मितावस्तुत-जातीनं ब्राह्मण-समन्वानं
साधुदानं, प्रायानं साधु अगारभौ, अपव्ययता अपभांडता साधु

(3)

Rājūkas.

The Prādesīkas correspond to the Mahā-mātras at Ujjain, Taxila, etc. In other words, they were the " Provincials " or the Provincial Ministers.* If the Prādesīkas were the Provincial Ministers, the Rājūkas who are more important than, and who are contrasted with, the Prādesīkas must be the Ministers at the seat of the Central Government. This view is confirmed by Pillar Proclamation IV which says that the Rājūkas ruled over lacs and lacs of people, that the Emperor in the 27th year gave them complete independence in the matters of *daṇḍa* and *abhihāra*, and that the Emperor having made over his subjects (*prajā*) to them felt sure as a mother does having assigned her child (*prajā*) to the care of a known nurse. The points to be noticed are that the people (*Jana*) and subjects (*Prajā*) (who were lacs and lacs) were in the charge of the Rājūkas as a child is in that of a nurse—with full control. The ' People ' and ' Praja ' denotes that the whole of the People were under their rule. Aśoka had become free from the anxieties of administration. The Rājūkas thus could not have been ' commissioners, ' or superior officers of a few districts (as supposed by Mr. V. Smith), or mere Revenue officers (Bühler), or Judicial officers as recently proposed. Their ' going out ' of office every five years also suggests that they were of the class of High Ministers. Now take the terms *daṇḍa* and *abhihāra*, in respect of which their authority was declared supreme in the 27th year by the Emperor. European scholars have rendered them as " punishment and honour ". But *abhihāra* means ' attack, ' ' taking up arms, ' as well. The technical meaning of *daṇḍa*, ' government, ' is now known from the study of Hindu Politics. *Daṇḍa* and *abhihāra* will thus mean ' government ' and ' military operations, ' Peace and War. The Rājūkas were given complete independence in matters of Government and Military undertakings—both in matters of Peace and War, home government and foreign relations. Such powers can only be held and exercised by the Imperial High Ministers.

* See Childers, *ewā* ' rājā ' where *Paḍasa* is the largest administrative area in a kingdom.

• The Rājūkas (' P. E.' IV) were authorized to grant the ' anugrahas ' privileges to the Jāna-pada Body. Now we know from the inscription of Khāra-vela that it was the king's jurisdiction to grant *anugrahas* to the Jānapada. The Artha-Śāstra also assumes that the king granted *anugrahas* to the Paura and Jānapada bodies (page 394). The Rājūka's jurisdiction (conferred by P. E. IV) to do the same is a further proof of the fact that they exercised sovereign authority in government from the year 27th of Aśoka's coronation.

Scholars have taken *rājūka* as a derivative of *rajjū*, rope. But Rājū is a known Pali form (Jātaka, I. 179, 504), in the sense of ' ruler, ' ' king '. The citizens of the republican Licchhavi State are called *rājūs* (I. 179), and seven kings who attacked Benares were called *rājans* and *rājūs*. The Rājūkas of Aśoka thus were ' the rulers ' or *Rulers-Ministers*, the committee of the Parisā vested with real executive powers over the whole empire. Such a committee or smaller body of the ministers are called in the Mahā-Bhārata, Mantra-Grāhas, ' those vested with the policy of State '* Compare *rājñam rājamaḥ-mattānam* of the Vinaya. They are not viceroys because the Rājūkas were *yutas*, i.e., members of the executive service (ministers), and like the Provincial ministers they were subject to the rule of transfers and the viceroys (*uparājas*) were to see to the transfers of the corresponding Prādeśikas. No provision for the transfer of the viceroys was made.

Rājū is a diminutive form of *Rājā* in spoken Hindi. The form *rājū* is connected with *rājā*. But it is wrong to suppose that it is an optional form of *rājā* itself. Philologically an independent base, *rājū*, is necessary. *Rājūka* may mean ' holder of the reins ' (of government, cf. *sūtradhāra*). But it never occurs in that sense in literature, while *mahā-mātras* are called ' *rājās* ' (Childers *sub-rājā*).

(4)

The year 27th.

In the 26th year elapsed or the 27th year current of his abhisheka, Aśoka was 51.† In that year he composes the

* Sānti, 83, 50 (Kumbakonam ed.)

† J. B. O. R. S., III., 438.

Pillar Proclamations and the next year he surveys his past good acts (P. E. VI.) According to the rule that coronation took place in the 25th year (Kharavela's inscription),* the 27th year of consecrated reign was Aśoka's 51st year of life. He thus practically retires from official life after his 50th year. †

(5)

Former Kings.

'Pillar Edict' VI shows that some predecessors of Aśoka on the Magadha throne had been heterodox. They are said by Aśoka to have desired the spread of the Dharma, which, to be judged by the description of his own achievements in that connexion (P. E. VI), appears to have been of a heterodox nature. It aimed at the abolition of sacrifices. Even Bimbisāra ‡ would have been regarded by Aśoka as one of such sovereigns. The reference may be to him, to any of the Nandas, or to them and to Chandra Gupta who is said to have retired as a Jain ascetic. The kings who wanted to discourage sacrificial killing of animals had been more than one, or rather two, as Aśoka refers to them in the plural.

* J. B. O. R. S., III., 488.

† Cf. Divyāvadāna, page 432, which says that the Emperor was deprived of 'authority' by the ministers.

‡ A passage in the Divyāvadāna actually describes Aśoka referring to the religious work of Bimbisāra and 'others' (page 398).

IV.—Gholam 'Ali Rasikh.

By Khan Bahadur Saiyid Zamir-ud-din Ahmad.

At the downfall of the Moghul Empire in India when the Government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was changing hands there was born in the district of Patna a man named Gholam 'Ali, afterwards known by his pen-name 'Rásikh', who was destined to leave his mark in the domain of Urdú poetry.

He was born in 1162 A. H. (1749 A. D.). There is no recorded account of his family to trace his descent. It is said that his grandfather came to Bihar from Shahjahanabad (Delhi), and settled here. They say that 'Rásikh' was born at a village called 'Sáin' which is at a distance of ten or twelve miles from Bankipore, but in his early years he permanently removed to Patna to take his abode there. Up to his death, however, he never built a house of his own and lived in a tenanted building. It is said that his first teacher in poesy was one 'Mirza Sharer'. Later on he became a pupil of Mir Taqi 'Mir' of Delhi, who then ruled in India as the enthroned King of Urdú poets. Both Muhammad Husan 'Azád' and 'Ali Muhammad 'Shád' in their books say that 'Rásikh' went to 'Mir' to sit at his feet, but when the latter saw his verses he told him that he need not bother himself to be his pupil as he himself, to tell the truth, was a past master of poesy. However, on the insistence of the young poet, he simply changed a word or two in one of his verses, and thus impressed upon him his Hall-mark which entitled him to pass as a recognized poet of the Urdú language. In his various verses 'Rásikh' prides upon his being a pupil of 'Mir'. On the death of the latter 'Rásikh' was recognized as his true successor. All the other poets of his time recognized him as their 'Ustád.' They used to flock at his place and take lessons from him in poesy. Rásikh hints at this in his various verses.

In connection with his writing verses it is worth mentioning that he never wrote verses unless he first refreshed his mind with the sweet melody of music. He was a very skilful singer and had a singular taste for music. In him 'music' and 'muse' were combined together. He had a very tender heart. It is said that whenever he read his 'ghazals' in 'mosha'iras' (parties held for reciting ghazals by several poets) tears dropped down from his eyes and he became so much overpowered by emotion that he could hardly control himself and read out his 'ghazals' to their finish.

He was well-read in 'Sufism'. He was fully familiar with the writings of Mukhl'm Shurf-ud-din Ahmad of Bihar, one of the greatest saints of the Muslim world, and during his closing days, as he himself writes to Shah Abul Hassan 'Furd' Sajjadahnashin of Phulwari, he had given himself up to reading books on 'Sufism.' This gives a clue to his being so full of pathos and of love and sympathy for mankind and God's creatures in general.

Lack of recognition of the indigenous talents and abilities, which is a significant characteristic of the Province, compelled him to go abroad and knock at the doors of men of other provinces for help and support. No doubt he got some rewards for his poems, as he himself hints at it, from some of the grandees of his native place, but they were by fits and starts and too insignificant to be of any substantial help to him. He was not a rich man—rather he passed his life in pecuniary difficulties. We find him complaining of this in his various 'Musnavies,' and also in the letter he wrote to Shah Abul Hassan 'Furd'. He writes to the latter that he was compelled by the vicissitudes of fortune to seek fresh fields and pastures new, and not to stick to his native place—Patna. This letter was written when the writer, as he mentions in the letter, was close upon 70 years of age. He visited several cities of Upper India, and once in his closing days he went to Calcutta also. He waited upon Ghazi-ud-din Hayder and Asif-ud-Daula of Lucknow, and presented a

'Musnavi' to each of them. But it is evident that his talents and merits were not fully recognized and rewarded there. Had it been otherwise he would have been fixed to their courts as it was then a customary thing. The reason seems to be this that he did not belong to Upper India, but was a Bihari whom till then and till a long time after the Upper Indians did not consider as their peer in the Urdú language. While in Calcutta he was so hard-pressed for money and was reduced to such serious straits that he could not even pay for his expenses back to his home. He was at last introduced there by Quazi Seraj-ud-din Khan 'Mújid', the Quaziul-Quzzát of Calcutta and Maulavi Rashid pen-named 'Arshud', the Mufti of Calcutta to Maharaja Jagurnáth Bahadur. The latter appears to have been a patron of men of letters. 'Rásikh' wrote a 'Musnavi' and presented it to the Maharaja wherein he fully described his straitened circumstances and appealed to his generosity and sympathy. This must have had its proper effect, because we find 'Rasikh' giving expression to his sense of gratitude in some of his 'Ruba'is for the help rendered by 'Mújid' and 'Arshud.'

As to his religious belief there is a controversy. Both 'Súnnies' and 'Shi'as' claim him to be one of their own sect. There are many verses in his writings in which he praises 'Ali', but at the same time there are verses wherein he praises other 'Khalifs' too. It must be pointed out here that he has not written anything in praise of 'Ali' which runs counter to what 'Súnnies' ascribe to 'Ali' or which is in excess of what they think of him. As far as I have been able to deduce from his writings, I cannot but say that he was a 'Súnni' and 'Sufi' out and out. The 'Sufi' sect generally adore 'Ali', as he is the fountain head of their sect. It is hence that they are so profuse in his praise. With both 'Súnnies' and 'Shi'as' love of the descendants of the Prophet is a cardinal principle of their tenets. The difference is simply this, that while one recognizes 'Ali' as one of the 'Khalifs', the other recognizes him as the *only* 'Khalif' and in their zeal speaks ill of the others. Over and above this had 'Rásikh' been a 'Shia' he would not have

recognized a 'Sūnni' as his 'Murshid' (monitor). We have it in his own handwriting that he was a disciple of a Phulwari 'Sajjadahnashin.' His letter is still preserved in Phulwari. It is written in his own handwriting, and I had the privilege and permission, while I called at the Phulwari 'Khanquah' to read it with my own eyes. A copy thereof was also supplied to me which I still possess.

An article on 'Rāsikh' published in the defunct Urdú paper 'Alpunch', published in 1908, says that up to 1221 A. H. (1806 A. D.) 'Rāsikh' passed his life in shifting from one place to another, but in 1222 he returned to Patna not to leave it again till his death. He died at Patna in his 76 years of age on the 26th Jamadi II, 1238 A. H. (February 1823 A. D.) and was buried at Lodi Kutra, where his tomb, though in a dilapidated condition, still exists.

A complete collection of his writings is to be found in the Bankipore Oriental Library, and a small collection of his works was published about twenty-five years ago by one Mirza Imdad Husain of Patna. The latter no doubt betrays a cruel hand of some plagiarists, still the publisher deserves gratitude of the public for giving an access to 'Rāsikh's' writings.

RASIKH AS A POET.

Rāsikh was a born poet. When a striking event occurred or an unusual feeling moved him, his poetic genius was stirred up and burst forth in verses. His poetic flight soar high to the domains of religion, love, heaven, destiny and the world at large. His light is pure, 'dry light' free from the 'humours' of habit, and purged from consecrated usage. While no place and no heart is free from 'love,' Rāsikh's heart which bore the Hall-mark of it and was wounded and tortured by the treacherous treatment of the world, was a mine of pathos and emotion. His verses carry with them cogent proofs of it.

He lived at a time when there were still to be found, though more or less faint, traces of the Moghul Empire in the country. Till then foreign manners and customs had not

eclipsed the polish and refinement of the Moghul Courts and the etiquettes of the Muslim Indian Societies. This had an influence over his language which had assimilated the Court polish by the process of conscious imitation but without mimicry. He had exquisite felicity of choice, his dictionary had no vulgar word in it, no harsh one, but all culled from the luckiest moods of poets, and with a faint but delicious aroma of association, he had a perfect sense of sound, and one idea without which all the poetic outfit is of little avail—that of combination and arrangement. He had no hesitation in his anxiety to gain his end, even to use pure Hindi words, and he did so with such masterly precision that it imparted to his verses a flavour of its own. I shall quote here two couplets from his writings:—

(۱) لا افسوس کے متبع ہائے رے کئے گذرے ادھر جو آئے

(۲) لگی سے اسکے بروگی ہوئے لڑکے جو کہ لینے کئے جو کی ہوئے لڑکے

The most striking feature of his verses is that if their metre and rhyme be done away with, they read just like very nicely composed prose. This proves his complete mastery over the language and composition, e.g. :—

(۳) تو نے کب درست کر پہچانا ہے آشنا تو نہیں بیگانا ہے

(۴) مجھ کو مشرک سے ملایا تو نے یہ توقع نہ تھی مجھ کو تجھ سے

(۵) شک ہے رزاقی رازق پہ تجھ سے منیت پہ ترے شک ہے مجھ سے

He was a happy mixture of originality, elegance, sense and imagination. He wrote with a beauty of design and finish that are of no time. He tried to satisfy not merely some fleeting fancy of the day, but a constant longing and hunger of human nature. He did not tease his words into a fury in order

(1) I found its victims confounded ;

Those that came over this side were done with.

(2) By its communion men have parted from themselves ;

They went to seek union but turned into hermits.

(3) When hast thou recognized a friend ?

Thou art not an acquaintance, rather a stranger.

(4) Thou didst introduce me to a *mushrik* (one who takes a partner for God),

I did not expect this from thee.

(5) Dost thou doubt the power of nourishing of the Providence ?

Then I doubt your *mom niyet* (i.e., your being a Muslim).

to infuse them with the deliberate heat of his matured conception, and strived to replace the rapture of the mind with a fervid intensity of phrase. He was the original man who contrived to be simply natural. His 'ghazals' bear the stamp of maturity as well as youthful freshness. He puts life into the words and retains the attention of the readers. In the main he is more a subjective poet than an objective one. His verses brim over with subjective matters. A large number of them fully indicate that he was brooding over his own internal states and that he owed his success more to his intellectual world than the outside and material one.

For similes and metaphors he has not to travel to regions unknown, but he seizes upon the things around and makes them serve his purpose which gratifies certain known habits of association, e.g. :—

(۱) گر نہیں آستان کا تبرے ندا تو سبب کیا کہ ہوتی ہے جب شام

(۲) کسٹ سیمیں اپنا تب لیکر در پر آتا ہے تیرے ماہ تمام

(۳) اب انے اب گل بازی مجھے بنایا ہے یہ روسیہ ہے اس رنگ در پئے آزار

(۴) امان آنکھوں کی کیا رسا نظر ہے اس برجہی کو دل کے پار پایا

(۵) یوں جہاں اس مایہ جا رہا ہے پیرایا ہوا روئے معنی پر نقاب لفظ جوں چھایا ہوا

(۶) کیوں نہ سر کہینچے یہ شعلہ آتش دل کا مری ہے تمہارے دامن مژگن کا بھڑکا یا ہوا

(۷) جوں تغم میں ہو صورت اشجار نہ ظاہر تھا عالم میں صانع کے نہاں اب جو بنایا

(1) If not a beggar at thy door,

Why then when it gets dark ?

(2) With her silver bowl

The full moon comes to thy door.

(3) It (i.e., Heaven) has made me a flower of game,

This black-faced is so much bent upon my injury.

(4) How far-reaching is the sight of these eyes !

I found this lance across the heart.

(5) That origin of life is compassing this world in such a way,

As the veil of words is covering the face of meaning.

(6) Why should not the flames of the fire of my heart rise up ?

It has been fanned up with the skirt of thy eyelashes.

(7) As within the seeds the forms of plants are hidden,

So in the knowledge of the Creator was that which has now been created.

In using allusions he does not confine himself solely to those events, stories and persons that play parts in Arabic and Persian literatures, but he draws upon the Hindu traditions and mythology also. In one of his *musnavies* named 'Husn-o-Ishque' (Beauty and Love) where he describes the triumph of 'love', he writes—

(۱) آرام دلی دمی سے چھوٹا دل تیرے سبب؟ دلی سے چھوٹا
(۲) جو کی بنا کام روپ آخر کھو بیٹھا وہ رنگ روپ آخر
(۳) دریا دریا رولا یا آسکر صعرا صعرا پھرایا آسکر
(۴) خراب ایک ایسا آ سے دیکھا یا جس خراب نے فتنہ کر چکایا

There are many verses in his writings wherein he touches upon the social, moral and economic conditions of his time, e.g. :—

(۵) وضع داروں سے سبک وضع دے رہتے تھے دغل کیا سفارہ چلے معتزموں سے بڑھکر

(۶) وہ نسق ہی نہیں بالعکس ہے آسکا اب تو

بے ہنر خوش ہیں خراب اور ذلیل اہل ہنر

(۷) فجبا سے ہے کہیں رتبہ سفیہوں کا زیاد

شرفا سے ہے کہیں رتبہ آنہوں کا برتر

(۸) ننگ ہیں وہ جو حقیقت میں صف پائیں

بزم میں صدر نشین ہوتے ہیں جاگرا کٹر

(1) The home-comfort was lost by 'Damun,'

'Nul' left home on thy account.

(2) 'Kamrup' at last became hermit for thee,

He in the end lost his colour and beauty

(3) Thou made him shed tears in streams,

Thou made him wander about in the woods.

(4) Thou showed him such a dream,

Which dream created a mischief.

(5) Men of low position used to show respects to those of high position in life,

A mean fellow couldn't dare to seek precedence over an honourable man.

(6) The old order has changed. The contrary exists now,

Villains are better off and the virtuous are in ruin and disgrace.

(7) Lowly men are more highly placed than men of respectability,

They occupy a higher position than men of birth.

(8) Those that are in reality a disgrace even to the lowest rank,

Often occupy the front place in society.

(۱) قابل صدر نشینی ہیں مجالس میں جولگی
سخت مشکل سے ہے تا صفا تعالٰیٰ آنکا گزر

(۲) کہاں وہ عہد اب تو زور بازار سفیہاں ہے
رئیس ایسے بہت کمیاب ہیں جو ہوں نہ دوس پرور

(۳) کیا عہد ہے کہ سچے کو احمق کہے ہے خلق
دانا رہی ہے اب جو کہے سر بسر دروغ

(۴) قہقہہ موت اے یاریار با وفا اس عہد میں
یاد لاکھوں پر وفا نایاب تر عطا سے ہے

In his verses he has touched on various occasions upon philosophical subjects, too, such as "What was the object of the Creation?" "Everything of the Universe proves God's existence." "This world is alluring but at the same time fickle and transitory", etc., etc. I shall give below some of his verses on the points:—

(۵) مدعا عالم سے اپنا ہی فقط دیدار تھا دید کو اپنی یہ آئینہ اُسے درکار تھا
(۶) عرض کرنا تھا بنوے اُسکو اپنی شان کا اسلئے واضع ہوا آئینہ اعیان کا
(۷) کوئی بانہی ہے بیشک محفل زیبا عالم کا نہریں منتظم مجالس نہجبت مجالس آراہو
(۸) کوئی در پردہ کار فرماں ہے قہب سے اس کارگاہے پیدا ہے

(1) Those that deserve the front place in Society,

It is with difficulty that they got even a place in the back seats.

(2) Where is olden time? Now the villains are in ascendance,

No 'Rais' is now to be found who does not favour a mean fellow.

(3) What time is it that men call an honest man a fool?

Now he who tells a lie is considered a wise man.

(4) Do not search for a faithful friend in this age,

There are many friends but a faithful one is more rare than an 'Anka.

(5) The object of the creation was only His own exhibition,

For looking at Him this mirror was needed.

(6) He had in a way to represent His own glory,

Hence He became maker of the mirror of the Universe.

(7) No doubt some one is the organizer of the lively congregation of the world,

Unless there is an organizer, a congregation cannot be so superbly organized.

(8) There is some active soul hidden,

The method of this scene of activities (i.e., world) indicates this.

(۱) معنی 'ے تئیں ہم نے تو صورت ہی میں پایا نقاش ہمیں نقش ے اندر نظر آیا
 (۲) شمع (سحر) ہیں ہم تم کیا بد رو باش یاں کی روشن ہے بے بقائی اس مجاس رواں کی
 (۳) داماں دل اس باغ کا اسلوب کشاں ہے یاں پردہ ہر رنگ میں اک دام نہاں ہے
 (۴) تماشائی کو غیر از داغ یاں سے کچھ نہیں حاصل سراسر ہم نے تویہ گلستان لالہ ستاں پایا
 (۵) سر بازار و جود آپ سے آیا نہیں میں جلوہ دکھلائے کو اپنا کوئی لایا ہے مجھ

Verses embodying admonition and advice are also very copiously met with in his writings. He misses no opportunity to convey his sound counsel and advice to his readers, and does so in a very effective manner. Here are some such verses :—

(۶) کہ ستامت کسو ے تئیں زہار ہر نہ ہرگز تو درپے آزار
 (۷) عمر مہکتا ظلم رانی میں یعنی تو اس جہاں فانی میں
 (۸) گر بقا چاہتا ہے بعد فنا اور عقبی میں جنت و طوبی
 (۹) چہرہ جانام نیک اپنے بدل ساتھ لیجا جائے حسن عمل
 (۱۰) تپھکو کافی ہے بس یہی اک پند رکھ اسے یاد تارے خرسند
 (۱۱) نہر مغرور تو اس ایک دم کی زندگانی پر
 ہوا کی سطح پر ناداں بناے قصر ہستی ہے

-
- (1) I found out the latent in the patent,
The painter became visible to me in the painting.
 - (2) We are morning lamps. What is the value of staying here ?
Transitoriness of this fleeting congregation (i.e., world) is too apparent.
 - (3) The expanse of the heart of this garden is very tidy,
Here under the cover of each colour a net is placed.
 - (4) The spectator gets from here nothing but a wound,
I found this orchard totally a bed of *lala* (which looks covered over with blood).
 - (5) I have not come to the marketplace of existence by my ownself ;
Some one has brought me here in order to exhibit himself.
 - (6) By no means oppress any one :
Never think of doing a bad turn.
 - (7) Do not waste thy life in tyranny,
I mean in this transitory world.
 - (8) If thou aimest at immortality after death,
And in the future life, paradise,
 - (9) Leave behind thee a good name,
Carry with thee reward of good deeds.
 - (10) Only this one advice suffices thee.
Keep it in thy mind, and be happy.
 - (11) Do not pride upon this life of one breath,
O ye, fool ! the foundation of the fabric of existence rests on the surface of air.

- (۱) نہ فکر جمع زرمیں اے دنی اتنا پریشان ہو
مآل اسکا سمجھ لے نسخہ احوال قارن سے
- (۲) اس کاروان سرا میں تو ہے کوچ سی کا شرر
عبث کا یہ مقام ہے کیا کوئی یاں رہے
- (۳) ہاں معترف جرم ہی رہ پیش خداوند
ہے شرط ادب گر تو گنہگار نہوے
- (۴) رہ سعی کر کہ تجھ کو حاصل ہو دولت دیں
منعم متاع دنیا کتنی ہے کس قدر رہے
- (۵) ان تہیس گھاٹ شیشوں کی کچھہ اب بھی سمجھو قدر
پاس دل شکستہ اہل وفا کر
- (۶) چس دھر کی رٹینی کا عشق مت ہو
قتل رکھتا ہے تو دل دے چس ارے نٹیں
- (۷) اس باغ میں جوں ٹہٹ گل رہ تو سبکسار
تا یاں سے جو چلنا ہو تو دشوار نہوے
- (۸) کورانہ نہ طے کیجیو تو راہ طالب یار
ہاں دیکھو پا مال کوئی خار نہوے
- (۹) ہنر مستغنی اس سے ہے کہ قدر افزا میسر ہو
شنا سا گر نہو تیرا کوئی پر تو تو گھر ہو

(1) O mean-minded ! do not bother thyself so much to hoard money,

Think of its result from the story of *Quarun's* account.

(2) In this *Karvansarai* (i.e., this world) there is but fuss and bustle of departure,

It is a place to take a lesson from and not to stay in.

(3) Yes, plead guilty before God,

Such is the condition of reverence, albeit thou mayest be not guilty.

(4) So try that thou mayest gather religious wealth,

O ye, wealthy ! how much and what amount is the riches of this world ?

(5) Set a value even now on these cracked glasses,

Have consideration for the broken heart of the man of faith.

(6) Do not be enamoured of the beauties of the orchard of the world,

If thou hast any brain give thy heart to the embellisher of the orchard.

(7) Stay on in this garden like the aroma of flower,

So that there may be no difficulty at thy departure.

(8) O friend ! do not tread blindly on the path of seeking (your object),

Beware ! not even a thorn be crushed under thy feet,

(9) Virtue is independent of appreciation,

No matter if there is none to appreciate it, but try to be a gem.

In his several works he has touched on many abstruse subjects also. Here are extracts from what he has written on 'Speech' (سخن) and 'love' (عشق) —

سخن

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (۱) سلطان سخن اگر نہ یار ہو | (۱) برہمزدہ شہریہ جہاں ہو |
| دفتریہ ظہور کا سرا سر | (۲) ہرے نہ سخن توہرے اتر |
| شیرازہ نسختہ دو عالم | (۳) رشتہ سے سخن ہی ہے معکم |
| معشوق مزاجداں سخن ہے | (۴) روح تن انس و جاں سخن ہے |
| کیفیت اسکی فوت روح | (۵) یہ بادہ ہے ہم طبیعت روح |
| تو آدم مردہ کی خورشیدی | (۶) کر دیکھئے تک بہ تیز ہوشی |
| تسکین دہ عاشقان سخن ہے | (۷) کہتی ہے یہی کہ جاں سخن ہے |
| عاشق کرے حال کیونکر اظہار | (۸) گر ہو نہ سخن تو پیش دلدار |
| بالکل ہے اس آئینہ میں پیدا | (۹) عشاق کی صورت تمنا |
| عکس اس سے ہے آئینہ جاں | (۱۰) سخن گوہر گنجینہ جاں |
| سحر افسوں ہے عبارت اس سے | (۱۱) منتظم کار سفارت اس سے |

SPEECH.

- (1) The world would be a ruined city,
If the Kingly 'speech' be not there.
- (2) If there be no 'speech,'
The whole manifestation will be topsytury.
- (3) It is the thread of 'speech' which binds tightly,
The ends of the stitching of the two worlds.
- (4) The soul of the bodies of the man and the genie is 'speech,'
It is the sweetheart who knows the temper (of the lover).
- (5) It is the wine which is congenial to the soul,
Its elation is the support of the soul.
- (6) If thou lookest deep,
The silence of the dead man.
- (7) Speaks that 'speech' is life,
'Speech' is solace of the lovers.
- (8) If there be no 'speech' how before the sweetheart
The lover can pour forth his heart?
- (9) The photo of the lover's yearnings,
Is fully visible in this mirror.
- (10) 'Speech' is a gem from the treasure of life,
The mirror of life owes its reflection to this.
- (11) The errand of embassy is settled by this,
The composition is charming and magical on account of this.

- (۱) گرمئی معرکہ صلح و جنگ ہمہ تاثیر ہے یہ پرنسیرنگ
(۲) اسکی ترکیب کہیں مہر انگیز نظم اسکا ہے کہیں وجہ ستیز

عشق

- (۱) عشق سمجھو تو عجب کچھ ہے چیز درد و داغ اس کے بھی کئے ہیں عزیز
(۲) ایک ہے دل میں چھپا رکھنے کے گوں ایک چھاتی سے لگا رکھنے کے گوں
(۳) عاقلوں سے ہے بہت عشق نفور عقل سمجھے ایسے کب ہے شعور
(۴) اُن سے جو وحشی ہیں مانوس ہے عشق آتش خرم ناپوس ہے عشق
(۵) کار پر داز جنوں ہے اسکا معرہ راز جنوں ہے اسکا
(۶) ربط رکھتا ہے یہ دیوانوں سے راہ اسے چاک گریباؤں سے
(۷) عشق کا مرتبہ ہے بسکہ بسیط کب قیاس و خرد اس پر ہوں معیط
(۸) جس نے کچھ بھی اسے پہچانا ہے وہ ساری نبطی ہے دیوانا ہے
(۹) لاگو اس کے متعیر ہاں وہ کئے گزرے ادھر جو آئے
(۱۰) لاگ سے اس کے بروگی ہوے لرک جڑک لینے کئے جوگی ہوے لرک

- (1) It is glow of war and peace,
This magic is fully effective.
(2) Its mode is sometimes love exciting.
Its device is sometimes quarrel-causing.

Love.

- (1) Lo ! what an extraordinary thing is love,
How dear are its pain and wound !
(2) One is worth concealing in the heart,
One is worth grappling to the breast.
(3) Love keeps aloof from the wise,
Wit has no power to grasp it
(4) Love is intimate with the wild,
Love is fire for the barn of reputation.
(5) Madness is its agent,
Lunacy is its intimate friend.
(6) It has intimacy with mad men,
It has communion with those that have torn collars.
(7) The position of 'love' is very high ,
How can imagination and wit comprehend it ?
(8) He who has even comprehended a bit of it,
Is crazy, insane and lunatic.
(9) I found its victims confounded,
Those that came over this side were done with.
(10) By its communion men have parted from themselves,
They went to seek union, but turned into hermits.

- (۱) کچھ عجب شعلہ سرکش ہے یہ ایک پر کالہ آتش ہے یہ
 (۲) گرمیاں اسکی گھلا دیتی ہیں سنگ کو موم بنا دیتی ہیں
 (۳) ہوش کا خانہ برانداز ہے یہ سحر پر داز فسون ساز ہے یہ
 (۴) گرچہ ہے جسم کا وجہ تخرب علت روح کا ہے عشق طبیب
 (۵) عشق میں جیتے رہی جو ہارے عشق اڈھارے ہے تعین سارے
 (۶) عشق طالب بھی ہے مطلوب بھی ہے یہ معب ہے بھی معبود بھی ہے
 (۷) اسکے وار فتوں کو معویت ہے عشق اک زور ہے کیفیت ہے
 (۸) ابتداء اسکی ہے گریبان رہنا انتہا رفتہ و حیران رہنا
 (۹) نسخہ حسن کا ہے یہ مفہم سارے عالم میں ایسی کی ہے دھرم
 (۱۰) عاشقی رنج و تعب صحت ہے عاشقی ہاے بڑی آفت ہے
 (۱۱) عاشقی مایہ صد خواری ہے عاشقی دل کی گرفتاری ہے
 (۱۲) عاشقی ہے عجب اک جی کا زری ان نے تو چمکے بناے ہیں لری
 (۱۳) عاشقوں میں منلوں ہیں حال کوئی خاموش کوئی گرم مقال

- (1) It is a wonderfully rebellious flame,
It is a spark of fire.
 (2) Its heat melts,
Renders stone wax.
 (3) It is destructor of intelligence,
It is enchanter and sorcerer,
 (4) Though it is cause of the wasting of the body,
Yet it is panacea for the malady of the soul.
 (5) In love he who is vanquished triumphs,
Love removes every bar.
 (6) Love is seeker as well as sought after,
It is lover as well as beloved.
 (7) Its enamoured ones have perplexity,
Love is a power and an elation,
 (8) Its inception is to wail,
Its end is to be confounded and perplexed.
 (9) It is sum total of the intentions of the book of beauty,
There is in the whole universe a bustle of it only.
 (10) Love is pains, afflictions and trouble,
Oh, love is a tremendous affliction !
 (11) Love is a fund of hundred distress.
Love is the captivity of the heart.
 (12) Love is a malady of the mind.
It has befriended by selections.
 (13) Lovers are of diverse conditions,
Some are silent and some prating.

- (۱) عاشقی شرق ہے کچھ مت پرچہر ہمای ذوق ہے کچھ مت پرچہر
 (۲) عشق اک لذت روحانی ہے عشق کیفیت وجدانی ہے
 (۳) عشق میں طینت اِضداد ہے ایک رتبہ خسرو و فرہاد ہے ایک
 (۴) عشق کی چال کرے ہے پا مال ہے پرے دھم سے یہ تازہ خیال

It must be borne in mind that the Urdu poetry was born and bred in the laps of the Persian poetry. It was therefore natural that it derived its inspiration from the latter. At the birth of the Urdu poetry the Persian poetry had undergone a complete change in its dictions and thought. The Persian poets had, in order to produce new effects and to give new colours to their verses; taken to use subtle, grave, high and remote metaphors and similes. In their eagerness to court applause they were ready to sacrifice originality and to give the obscure preference over reality, which meant the stretching out of the shadowy in order to weave a new idea with the warp and woof of unsubstantial things. Hence no foreigners can thoroughly appreciate their verses through mere translation. Many a gap between various words in a verse have to be filled up before it can be intelligible. The Urdu poets of the time tried to walk in their footsteps and fell in the same trap. *Mir, Durd, Sauba*, and, almost all the famous poets of the age did not fare better. Rásikh could not have been then an exception. Living at the time of these poets it was natural for him to be impressed with the prevalent ideas of the time. We find hence perceptible marks of this in his 'ghazal'. The following will bear me out:—

- (۵) نہ بہا دینگے ہمارے بعد آئے دلہائے بے نسبت
 ہمیں اک عمر روئیکا مزا دل کی اسیری کا

(1) Love is an attraction—Do not question about it (i.e., it is unexplainable).

Love is an allurements—Do not enquire of it (i.e., it is undefinable).

(2) Love is a delight of the Soul.

Love is an ecstatic elation.

(3) In love the contrariety of nature is similarity.

The ranks of *Khísro* and *Furhad* is the same.

(4) The method of love is crushing,

This fresh vision is beyond the comprehension of imagination.

(5) After me no unsympathetic hearts will please it.

The pleasure of incarceration of heart will weep for me long.

- (۱) جوانی ہنسے کا ٹپی اب ہلک پر اشک چمکے ہے
 جو رات آخر ہوئی نکلا ستارہ مہم پیری کا
 (۲) گرانا چاہتا ہے عجب دانش مجھ پر رتبہ سے
 جنوں ابھی یہی تو وقت ہے اب دستگیری کا

Rāsikh was a copious writer. In every branch of Urdú poetry he has left us enough to judge of him as a poet. There are many Quasidas (4), Ruba'is, (5), Quta's (6) and Musnavies (7) besides 'ghazals' (8) which he has left as his legacy to the Urdú-speaking public. But the volumes of his 'ghazals' and 'Musnavies' eclipse the others, and of these two the latter is more voluminous than the former. In the printed edition of his work there are to be found 14 'Musnavies.' They are as follows :—

(i) (Beauty and Love.)	حسن و عشق
(ii) (Coquetry and Supplication.)	ناز و نیاز
(iii) (Means of Salvation.)	سبیل نجات
(v) (Attraction of Love.)	کشش عشق
(iv) (Magic of Love.)	تیرک معجبت
(vi) (Absorption of Love.)	جذب عشق
(vii) (Miracle of Love.)	اعجاز عشق
(viii) (Light of Eye sight.)	نور الہ نظر
(ix) (Treasury of Beauty.)	گنجینہ حسن
(x) (Mirror of Beauty.)	مرآۃ الجمال
(xi) (Love Letters.)	مکتوب شرق
(xii) (Details of Circumstances.)	شرح حال
(xiii) (Ruin of a City.)	شہر اشرب
(xiv) (Eulogium.)	مثنوی مدحیہ

Some of them had been written to orders and some by the necessity of the occasion, but none of them seem to be laboured. In them he had not to play the part of a didactic poet, but that of a tentative one and so he gathers as he goes,

- (1) I passed my youth merrily, now tear shines on eyelashes.
When night closed, there appeared the morning star of old age.
- (2) The vanity of wit tries to dislodge me from my position.
O Lunacy! do not tarry. Come on; this is the time for help.
- (3) Eulogiums or long odes.
- (4) Quatrains.
- (5) Stanzas.
- (6) A poem in which couplets rhyme regularly.
- (7) An ode or ematory poem.

and enlarges the scope of his vision at each step he makes. He does not go back upon and recast his diction, so as to give his composition those lineaments of truth and nature on which its effect as a whole depends. For in such a work, that which, above all things, the reader ought to see is the progression of effect, which the study of subject, exhibited in the actual tissue of the poem, has had upon the mind of the poet. In language and finish they are superb, and fully establish his mastery over the matrical language.

The "Beauty and Love" was written to be presented to Vazirul-Momalik Raf'at-ud-Daula Rafial-Múlkh Ghazi-ud-din Hayder Khan Bahad'ur Shahamat Jung of Lucknow.

The "Attraction of Love" was written to be presented to Vazirul-Momalik Asif-ud-Daula Bahadur of Lucknow.

The "Details of Circumstances" was presented to Maharajah Jagurnath Bahadur at Calcutta wherein the poet details his own straitened circumstances and appeals to the sympathy and generosity of the Maharajah.

The "Treasury of Beauty" was written at the instance of the poet's patron Mir Mehdi 'Ali Khan, who was *Nasib* of Mir Quasim Khan in Patna and who figured so prominently in the battle of Patna against the English. In this poem Rásikh gives an eulogistic description of a songstress and dancing-girl named "Sharfu" who appears, from the tone of the poem, to have been under the protection of Mehdi 'Ali Khan and with whom the poet himself was in love. He says:—

(۱) دل اپنا آس منم کا ہے فقط رام

کہ شرفو جسکا ہے نام خدا نام

(۲) آس کی کل کی ہوا ہے دل میں اپنے

یہی آتش آب و گل میں اپنے

(1) My heart is enchanted only of that idol.

Whose name, God save her, is Sharfu,

(2) Love of none but that flower exists in my heart,

This very fire is burning within my body.

In the "Mirror of Beauty" he gives in a very charmingly interesting manner description of a party given at the house of one Amin-ud-din Ahmad in Calcutta, whereat the poet was present. The reader gets a glimpse into the state of Society that prevailed in Calcutta in those days. The dancing-girl and songstress who danced and sang there has been drawn with a deft hand and her attraction has been depicted in a skilful manner, and invested with a considerable charm.

In "The Ruin of a City" he laments over the ruin and decay—economic, social and moral—which had overtaken Patna in the poet's time. He gives a very pathetic account of all classes of people and professions.

The "Light of the Eyesight" was written in imitation of *Jami's* سبحة السرار (Subhat-ul-Asrar) and *Khusro's Moll-a ul Anwar* (مطالع الانوار). This is rather the first and the last of its kind written in the Urdú language, and it is no exaggeration to say that Rásikh has acquitted himself in it very creditably. He has divided the poem into various *Munzers* (landscapes)—each with a small opening for looking through at the stories he gives under each *Munzer*.

The "Coquetry and Supplication" is the best of Rásikh's *Musnavies*—rather the best in the Urdú Language. In language, in diction, in style, in rhyme, and in pathos and emotion it is peerless in the whole range of the Urdú literature.

In several of his *Musnavies* he incidentally describes some of the Indian cities, such as Benares, Faizabad, Lucknow, Patna and Calcutta, and the descriptions given are worth reading.

He wrote many *Quasidas* mostly in praise of the *Umarás* of his time which are of very high water-mark and which place their author in the front rank of the Urdú poets. From them one can easily know which of the *Umarás* of those days commanded political and social influence in the province or in the neighbouring *Subás* and ruled over the hearts of the afflicted and the poor. There is a *Quasida* in praise of Nawab Shums-ud-Daula Mr. Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, too. In this *Quasida* even after making allowance for poetic

exaggeration, there is much to indicate that the English Nawab was held in high estimation by the people.

Besides *Quasidas* there are to be found in the Collection of Rásikh's works "Vasokhts . Mursiahs," "Mosudduses," "Turjibunds," "Quit'as," "Ruba'is", etc., etc., but these, though prove versatility of the poet's pen, are too numerous to be dealt with separately and with any length:

V.—Marriage Customs of the Birhōrs.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

(i)—*Different kinds of Marriage.*

MARRIAGE is considered indispensable for every Birhōr. Even most of their spirits or deities are believed to have each a husband or wife as the case may be. It is only after a person enters the married state, that he or she is regarded as a full-fledged member of the tribe.

Although instances occur in a few Jāghi (settled) families of a girl being married as early as her eleventh or twelfth year and a boy as his sixteenth or seventeenth year, adult marriage is the rule among all Birhōrs. A boy is generally married when he is about twenty or twenty-one years old and a girl when she is about sixteen or seventeen. In a regular marriage (*Sadar Bāplā*), it is the parents of the bride and bridegroom who select a partner for their boy or girl and conduct all negotiations for the marriage. But there are other forms of marriage in which one or both of the parties choose for themselves.

The Birhōrs recognize at least ten different forms of union as constituting a valid marriage.

When a young man and a maiden are discovered to have been carrying on an intrigue, if they belong to the same *gotra*, the elders of the *tāṇḍā* formally make over the girl to the keeping of her lover, and, when the latter or her parents are able to collect the necessary expenses, the customary bride-price is given to the parents, relatives and fellow-*tāṇḍā*-people¹ are invited, *vermilion* is applied as in a regular marriage, and the usual marriage-feast is provided. This is known as the *Nām-nāpām bāplā*.

¹ *Tāṇḍā* is the Birhōr term for a settlement or encampment.

The *Uḍrā-udri bāplā* is a purely elopement-marriage. A young man and a girl form an attachment for each other, and, apprehending opposition to their union, secretly leave the village together and remain in hiding as husband and wife for some time. Subsequently, when they are found out, they are brought home, the customary bride-price is paid, *sindur* is applied, and a feast is provided to relatives and the *tāṇḍā* people. In the *Bōlō bāplā* or Intrusion marriage, a maiden or a widow enters (forcibly, if necessary) the house of a man she loves, carrying on her head either a basket of the cogolla of the *mohua* flower or a bundle of firewood, and stays in the house for a day or two in spite of all remonstrance or even persecution. She is then recognized as a *Bōlō* wife or a *Dhūkni*. In some cases it is believed that such a girl is attracted to her lover's house by some charm or medicinal root or powder administered to her through an intermediary. Generally, however, the lover's people do not object to this sort of intrusion, but treat the girl kindly. Even if she be a spinster, the girl's parents have no right to the usual bride-price, although, in practice, bride-price is generally paid to conciliate them, and sometimes even a sum of one rupee and four annas is paid in excess of the ordinary bride-price of nine rupees. This money is spent by the bride's people in a feast to their friends and relatives. The bride's people are also invited to a feast at the bridegroom's house where vermilion is applied to the bride's forehead. The *Ṣipūndūr bāplā* is the converse of the *Bōlō-bāplā*. In this form of marriage, a young man who wishes to marry a particular girl but is not allowed to do so lies in wait for the girl with a little vermilion diluted in oil, and when he meets her alone applies it on her forehead. This is sometimes done at a market-place or at a fair; and, in such a case, the young man takes care to have with him a few friends to help him in resisting by force any opposition from the girl's people who may happen to be present.

The application of the vermilion to the forehead of the girl is considered to be tantamount to marriage; and even if the girl's people refuse to make her over to the man, but gives her in

marriage to another, such a later marriage will be considered a *sāṅghā* (or second) marriage and will not be attended with all the ceremonies required to be observed in a regular marriage of a spinster. Generally, however, the parents consent to the *śipūndūr* husband taking away the girl after having paid the usual bride-price and a fine of one rupee and four annas to the elders of the girl's *tāṇḍā*. The usual wedding-feast is also provided.

When a man having a wife living, marries another woman, the form of union is known as *Hirām bāplā*. If the second wife is a spinster, the bridegroom has to pay one or two rupees in addition to the usual bride-price of nine rupees. If this second wife is a widow, this form of union is known as *sāṅghā bāplā*. The same name is also applied to the marriage of a widower to a widow or to a divorced woman. In such marriages the amount of the bride-price is only two rupees and eight annas besides a *sāṛī*-cloth. The bridegroom, attended by three or five friends, takes the money and *sāṛī* to the bride's house, where the marriage usually takes place. The bride has her head well oiled and combed for the occasion. The bridegroom places on the ground an earthenware pot of oil and a little vermilion in a *sāl*-leaf. The bride puts on the new *sāṛī* and a female relative of hers takes up a little vermilion from the leaf, mixes it in oil, and with a thin reed applies it on the parting of her hair. The bride now salutes all present by bowing down a little and touching her head with the joined palms of her hand. The bridegroom, too, salutes all present by raising his hands to his forehead. The bride's parents give a feast to the guests, after which the bridegroom and his party return home with the bride.

In the *Kirīng-jāwāe bāplā* (Bought son-in-law marriage) the expenses required for the marriage are advanced by the father-in-law and repaid in convenient instalments by the son-in-law. Although the bride is taken to the bridegroom's *tāṇḍā* after the marriage, both bride and bridegroom return after a fortnight or a month to the bride's father's *tāṇḍā* and both remain there until the bride-price is repaid.

The *Gōlā bāplā* or *Gōlā-bāplā* (marriage by exchange of hotelants) is an exchange marriage for which no cash payment has to be made, one family exchanging a son or nephew with a daughter or niece respectively for a bride and a bridegroom from the other family. In other words, a man gives his daughter or niece in marriage to the son or nephew of another Bīrhōr and takes in exchange the latter's daughter or niece as a bride for his own son or nephew. With the exception of the payment of bride-price, the same ceremonies are observed as in the case of a regular marriage (*sadar bāplā*).

In the *Beng-kārhi bāplā*, the bride, owing to her parents' poverty, is taken to the bridegroom's house to be married. In other respects the ceremonies are the same as in a regular marriage.

I shall now proceed to describe the procedure followed and the ceremonies observed at a regular Bīrhōr marriage known as *Sadar Bāplā* (equivalent to the *Kirin bāk* form of Santāl marriage).

(ii)—*Marriage Negotiations.*

When the father of a marriageable boy hears of a suitable girl, he sends a party of friends to the girl's parents. The party usually consists of three men. They generally start at such an hour that they may reach their destination a little before sunset. Arrived at the house, they leave their sticks outside the doorway. This is a notice to the inmates of the house that the party have come to negotiate for a bride. If the latter feel inclined to entertain the proposal, they indicate it by taking charge of the sticks and carrying them inside the house. A few female members of the family now come out with jugs (*lōḥā*) of water and wash the feet of the guests. Hunting nets are spread for them to sit upon, and they are regaled with powdered tobacco mixed with lime. After a little friendly conversation, the guests lie down to sleep.

(iii)—*Tāk-Chānrhi*.

Next morning, the father of the girl informs the Nāyā of the arrival of the party proposing marriage. The Nāyā on being satisfied that it is a desirable match, orders the Diguār to assemble the people of the *tāṇḍā* on the open space (*āgan*) before the girl's father's hut. The Nāyā himself goes there and thus addresses the party: "Well, friends, what brings you here? You have placed your sticks at the door of this hut. What may be your object? The people of the *tāṇḍā* are afraid (apprehensive of some mischief)." The spokesman of the strangers replies, "We have not come to beat any one. We have come to the hut where we saw the thing we liked. We are waiting to see whether the thing will become ours." The Nāyā then tells them: "When you have come here after something you like, why should we disappoint you? We shall fulfil your wishes." Now the Diguār tells them, "Well then, come out with the customary dues (*neg dastūr*)." They thereupon place before the assembled men of the *tāṇḍā* one rupee and four annas as *nātā-tarouni*, and eight annas as *gōrḍhewāi* (money for feet-washing).

A figure as in the diagram on the margin (figure I) is now drawn on the ground with rice-flour. A brass-plate is placed on the circle at the centre of the diagram, and on this plate a sum of rupees four is placed (Rs. 3 being the bride-price, and one rupee the price of the *engā-bāgē* or cloth for the bride). Four pice are also placed

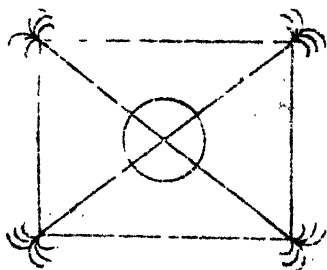


Fig. I.

by the side of the rupees as *Pānrhi-āṇḍā* or eggs of the four rupees. At each of the four corners of the figure a pice is placed as *chān-pūrni*. The girl is carried on the arms of some relative and seated on the east of the figure with her face turned to the east. The father of the girl takes his seat on the west of the figure with his face turned eastwards. Now the people of the *tāṇḍā*

address the strangers : "Examine her well to see if she is lary or lame or blind, or has any other defects. Look well, friends! So long she was with us, she played about and danced about. It mattered little whether she worked or not." The boy's father or other relative says, "We shall take up whatever has fallen to our lot (lit., fallen on the leaf-plate from which we are eating) whether it be an idler or a decrepit one". The bride now gets up and bows down at the feet of each one. Then she is carried inside the house on the arms of a relative. The *Diguār* then takes up the brass-plate with the bride-price on it and presents it before each of the men of the *ṭāṇḍā* present there, saying—"Look, so-and-so has been paid for to-day". Every one of them touches the money with his fingers and kisses those fingers. This looks as if the bride-price was originally paid to the *ṭāṇḍā* community as a whole. The brass-plate with the bride-price is next taken to the *thhāns* or spirit-seats of the *ṭāṇḍā* and each spirit is addressed, saying, "Look! this is the bride-price paid for so-and-so. May she fare well". Finally, the plate with the bride-price is taken to the *āḍing* of the girl's father's hut and the ancestor-spirits supposed to reside there are similarly invoked, and the plate with the money is left there.

Now all drink liquor purchased with the one rupee and four annas paid for the purpose by the boy's people. In the evening boiled rice and pulse-soup are served to all the guests including the men of the *ṭāṇḍā*. While they all sit down for their meals, the *Nāyā* of the *ṭāṇḍā* or (if he be not of the same clan as the bride's father) some kinsman of the bride's, and a representative of the boy's people, are seated in the middle of the row, and a leaf-plate full of boiled rice and pulse-soup is placed before each of them. Before the others begin eating, each of these two men takes up a handful of boiled rice from his plate and lets fall on the ground one grain after another, saying, "*Nē tihing emāpekāning, jōtrā gōjgūr herāl hujāl nē tihing dō emāpekāning Tākohānrhirā nūtūmtē nē māṇḍi emāpekāning bōngāekāning*".

"This (rice) I am giving to-day, O so-and-so, so-and-so (names all deceased ancestors), and all (ancestors) dead, lost or

strayed, this to-day I am giving in the name of *Tāk-chānṛhi*. This rice I am giving—I am offering ”.

While making this offering, the bridegroom's father addresses by name all his deceased ancestors, and the representative of the bride addresses all her deceased ancestors. The boy and girl are also named and the blessings of their respective ancestor-spirits are invoked for their future welfare.

Then the Nāyā calls out--“ Now, old and young, eat boiled rice in the name of *Tāk-chānṛhi* ”. All the men now eagerly attack the rice and pulse placed before them in leaf-plates. The Nāyā and the Diguār besides eating their share (*bātoāri bhāt*) of the meals as members of the *tāṇḍā*, each receives from the hands of the girl herself one *khālā* (large leaf-plate) of boiled rice and pulse-soup as the perquisite of his office (called '*Nāyā-māṇḍi*' and '*Diguārimāṇḍi*' respectively), and these they take home.

After the men have eaten, the women take their meal. Then all retire to bed.

Next morning, the girl weaves three wreathes of flowers, and the Diguār makes three garlands of *Ereṇḍi* (castor oil) fruit. When the three guests sit down to breakfast, the girl stands behind them with a cup filled with pounded turmeric diluted in water; and as the men go on eating, she besmears with it the back ends of their waist-cloths. The Diguār also eats that day at the hut of the girl's father. When they have finished eating, the Diguār calls together the men of the *tāṇḍā*. When all are seated on hunting-nets laid out for the purpose, the Diguār places on the neck of each man of the boy's side an *Ereṇḍi* garland and one of the wreathes of flowers woven by the girl. Now the people of the *tāṇḍā* ask the guests to fix a date when they may visit the boy's *tāṇḍā* for the *Jōm-māṇḍi* ceremony. Generally, the seventh or ninth day after the *Tāk-chānṛhi* ceremony is fixed for this purpose. Then the guests make obeisance (*sālāms*) to their hosts (the men of the *tāṇḍā*) which the latter return, and they then take leave of one another.

(iv)—*Jōm-māṇḍi*.

On the day preceding that fixed for the *Jōm-māṇḍi* ceremony, the men who are to go to the bridegroom's house for the purpose take out their walking-sticks (*lāḥis*) and place them at the door of the bride's father's hut. The bride takes up each stick and hands it over to its respective owner. The men—half a dozen or more in number—ask her, "Which way shall we go?" The girl points to the direction in which the men who had come for the *Tāk-chāṇḥi* ceremony went home to their *tāṇḍā*.

As soon as the party arrive near the bridegroom's house, the Diguār of the bridegroom's *tāṇḍā* comes out, takes charge of the walking-sticks of the guests and ties them up in a bundle which is kept inside the hut. Then he brings out a jar or two of water from which the bridegroom pours water on the legs and feet of the guests which the Diguār cleanses by rubbing them with his hands. Hunting-nets are spread out for the guests to sit upon. When they are seated, the bridegroom's people ask them, "What did you see on your way here?" The guests reply, "On the way, we met with a girl and asked her, 'Oh, dear, where is your father gone!' The girl answered, 'My father is gone to catch the rains of heaven' (meaning, to gather thatching-grass). Then we asked her, 'Where is your mother gone?' The girl answered, 'She is gone to take a dead person inside the house' (meaning, to transplant paddy-seedlings)."

The bride's people now say, 'O friends! A mango tree bore fruit; an old woman told her husband, 'Get me the mango by throwing a stick at it' (meaning, get me rice-beer to drink). The old man threw a stick at it and the mango fell and the stick came down on the other side of the tree striking down a deer as it fell (suggesting, let a goat be slain for our entertainment)'. Men on each party salām those of the other party and enquire about their health and well-being. Then riddles of a certain type known as *gānamreā bhāṇitā* are asked and solved. For this occasion, five jars of rice-beer were already set abrewing on the return of the three men who had gone to the bride's house for the *Tāk-chāṇḥi* ceremony. One of these

pots of rice-beer is now brought to the *āngan*, strained, and distributed to the guests. This is called 'the fatigue-removing jar'. After some friendly conversation, the guests are treated to a meal of boiled rice, boiled pot-herbs, and pulse-soup. Then all retire to bed.

Next morning the bride's father, the bride and the bridegroom and the guests bathe themselves. There, a figure like that in figure I on page 66 is drawn on the ground with rice-flour; a copper pice is placed on each of the four corners of the figure, and two *sāl*-leaf-plates are placed over the figure, one to the east of the other. The bridegroom is seated on the leaf-plate to the east and the bride's father on that to the west. The men of the bridegroom's party now say to those of the bride's side, "Look well, friends, examine the bridegroom and see if he is idle or lame or blind or has any other defects". The bridegroom's father replies, "I am satisfied with what has fallen on my plate". The bridegroom then bows down to the bride's father, and rises from his seat on the figure and proceeds to *salām* every one else present there. In the meanwhile, the father of the bride and the father of the bridegroom embrace each other, and the men on both sides *salām* one another.

Two more jars of rice-beer are now brought out. Men of the bridegroom's side tell the guests, "People lay out rice to dry, mushrooms to dry, bamboo shoots to dry. We are drying up men (by keeping you so long without food)". The guests reply, "No, friends; don't say so. Our people at home are saying of us, 'they are gone for *jōm-māṇḍi*, they are drinking rice-beer; in a short while they will be slaying goats or deer; in the evening they will eat rice, pulse-soup, and meat'". Now the men on both sides get up and embrace one another and resume their seats. When all are seated again, the *Nāyās* of the two parties sit down in the middle, each with a mug of rice-beer placed before him; and from this mug he offers libations to the spirits of the ancestors of bride and bridegroom respectively and invoking their blessings for the success of the *jōm-māṇḍi* ceremony. The

Nāyās now call upon the guests to do justice to the rice-beer and they fall to with avidity.

Then follows a ceremony of great social importance to the tribe. The bridegroom stretches forward his hands on which is placed a plate made of *āzī*-leaves and over it a brass bowl (*lōfā*) filled with water. His father calls upon the men of his *tāṇḍā* to say if there is in their opinion any social taint or social offence on his part to be expiated by a fine or feast. If the bridegroom's family has been remiss in the past in their social duties (for instance, if they have not given a feast on the occasion of a marriage in the family) or have been guilty of any social offence (e.g., if an unmarried daughter has been guilty of an intrigue with a youth of the same clan or of a different tribe or caste which remains unexpiated), no man of the *tāṇḍā* will touch the *lōfā* unless the bridegroom's people promise to provide the customary feast or pay the customary fine. And in such a case, the bridegroom's father will at once give an undertaking to do what is required of him, and then, and not till then, will the *lōfā* be touched by one man of each clan of the bridegroom's *tāṇḍā* and also of the bride's *tāṇḍā*. If in the opinion of the people of their *tāṇḍā*, the bridegroom's family has not been guilty of any social offence or neglect of social duty, a representative of each clan in the *tāṇḍā* as also a representative of each clan in the bride's *tāṇḍā*, touches the *lōfā*, thereby signifying that they have no objection to drinking water and taking food at the hands of the members of the family. Then the bridegroom's father says, "Now, you have touched the *lōfā*. Would you eat dry rice grains or would you have them soaked in water?" This is an euphemistic way of saying, "Would you have only unboiled rice to eat or wait for rice to be boiled?" The guests reply, "We should have rice soaked in water. How could we swallow dry rice?" Then the bridegroom's father says: "All right, you will have rice soaked in water. Shall we look out for pot-herbs (meaning, meat) or not? Shall we pluck edible leaves or not (meaning, shall we slay a goat or other animal)?" Some one of the bride's people replies, "Yes,

how should we eat boiled rice without any 'relish?' 'Look out for whatever pot-herbs (meaning, meat) you can get.' A goat or other animal is now brought out by the bridegroom's father or some other relative. Two men of the bride's father's party step forward; one holds the goat by the legs so as to make it face to the east, the other man slays the goat by severing its neck with an axe. The head of the animal is then cut into pieces and roasted. A piece of the roasted meat is put in a *sāl*-leaf cover and handed over one to each male guest. Rice-beer is then distributed in leaf-cups. This is called 'the liquor for the head (of the goat)'. One of the haunches of the animal is set apart for the bride's people to take back to their *tāṇḍā*.

In the evening, dinner is announced, and all take their seats in the *āṅga*; the *Nāyā* of the bridegroom's *tāṇḍā* and the *Nāyā* or, in his absence, some other respectable elder of the bride's *tāṇḍā* sit in the middle. Dinner is served first on the *sāl*-leaf-plates laid out one before each of these two men and then on the plates placed before the other guests. Each of these two men first drops on the ground some grains of boiled rice from their plates in the names of their dead ancestors, saying, as they do so,—“To-day we have come for the *jōm-māṇḍī* ceremony of so-and-so (the *Nāyā* of the bridegroom's side names the bridegroom, and the *Nāyā* or other elder of the bride's side names the bride); come ye all, O Spirits of our departed ancestors! you and we shall all eat together to-day. May the bride (or bridegroom) remain in health, and may the marriage be prosperous”. After this the two men first eat two mouthfuls of food, and then ask the other guests to begin eating. When dinner is finished, the guests wash their hands and mouths, and chew powdered tobacco-leaves mixed with lime. Then all retire for the night.

Next morning, when breakfast is ready, the men of the bride's *tāṇḍā* are conducted to some neighbouring spring or stream to bathe. Then, after they have finished their breakfast and taken powdered tobacco mixed with lime, the men of the *tāṇḍā* are assembled. The *Diguār* of the bridegroom's *tāṇḍā*

now anoints the men of the bride's *tāṇḍā* with oil and pounded turmeric, and places a garland of *Breṇḍi* (castor oil) fruit on the neck and a wreath of flowers round the head of each of those men.

Now the men of the bridegroom's *tāṇḍā*, in consultation with the men from the bride's *tāṇḍā*, fix a date for bringing '*lōgōn*' from the bride's place. Then the Diguār brings out the sticks of the guests, and after an exchange of salutations with the bridegroom's people, they return to their home. The bride's father pays two pice to the Diguār of the bridegroom's *tāṇḍā* for *ṭhēṅā-dharouni* (the care he took about the sticks) and two pice more for *gōṛ-dhoani* (washing their feet).

(v)—*Fixing the Lōgōn.*

On the date fixed for the '*lōgōn*', three men of the bridegroom's *tāṇḍā* go to the bride's *tāṇḍā* to fix the '*lōgōn*'. bring '*lōgōn*'. As on previous occasions the Diguār takes charge of the sticks of the guests, and the feet of the guests are washed. After taking their evening meal of boiled rice, pot-herbs, etc., and chewing powdered tobacco mixed with lime, the guests retire for the night. Next morning, the Diguār of the *tāṇḍā* conducts the guests to some spring or stream where they wash their faces and bathe their bodies. Then they go back to the bride's house where they are treated to a hearty breakfast,—for the *lōgōn* ceremony must never be performed with an empty stomach. When the guests have taken their breakfast, the men of the *tāṇḍā* are all assembled by the Diguār. The open space (*āṅan*) in front of the bride's house is cleaned with earth and water and a female draws on the ground thus cleaned a figure like that previously shown, and a copper pice is placed on each of its four corners and two *sāl*-leaf-plates are placed over it, one to the east of the other. The bride is brought out of the hut on the arms of a female relative and seated on the leaf-plate to the west with her face to the east and the palms of her hands joined together and stretched out before her. The father or other

relative of the bridegroom who has come to settle the *lōgōn* takes his seat on the leaf-plate to the east with his face turned west towards the bride. A female relative of the bride sits down behind her and covers with her hands the eyes of the bride so that she may not see anybody or anything. The man sitting on the leaf-plate to her east now puts on her out-stretched palms a little *āru* rice and two small strips of unbleached cotton-thread dyed yellow with turmeric and formed into five knots each. While the rice and threads are put into the hands of the girl, she holds the joined palms of her hand in such a manner that the rice and the threads may at once drop down through the opening between the palms on a leaf-cup placed on the ground underneath. The five knots in the thread indicate that the *lōgōn* or wedding-day is fixed at the fifth day from that date. The bridegroom's people return to their *tūpū* with one of the knotted threads, leaving in the leaf-cup the other thread for the bride's people.

(vi)—*The Chumān or Kissing of the Lōgōn-thread.*

The mother of the bride, accompanied by a few other women, now proceeds to make *chumān* (kissing) of the *lōgōn* in the following manner. She carries in a flat basket a handful of *dhān* or unhusked rice, one or two blades of tender grass, and an earthen lamp with a lighted wick in it, and waves the basket three times in front of the leaf-cup containing the *lōgōn* thread and then places the basket on the ground in front of the leaf-cup. She next takes up some paddy from the basket and scatters it three times on the *lōgōn*-thread, and then having warmed the palms of her hands in the flame of the lamp places them over the *lōgōn*-thread. This process of *chumān* or 'kissing' of the *lōgōn*-thread with the heated palms of the hand is repeated three times by the mother of the bride. And each of her companions too successively makes *chumān* of the *lōgōn*-thread by scattering on it *dhān* from the basket three times, and by thrice placing on the *lōgōn*-thread their hands warmed in the flame of the lamp. Then they return to the hut with the basket.

(vii)—*Ascertaining the omens from the Lōgōn-thread.*

A *māti* or magician of the tribe is now asked to read the 'fortune' of the bride from the *lōgōn*-thread. The *māti* washes his hands and feet, takes his seat in the *āṅgaṇ* and begins his operations with a handful of rice and two copper pice placed before him in a new *sūp* or winnowing-basket. The *māti* mutters invocation after invocation to the spirits, rubs his hand on the rice in the *sūp*, scatters rice several times across his own head which he soon begins to shake violently. Thus he works himself up into a state of ecstasy which the onlookers believe to be a sign of spirit-possession. Now the bride's father interrogates the spirit supposed to have possessed the *māti*, "What *bhūt* art thou?" he asks. The reply given through the mouth of the *māti*, is "I am such-and-such a *bhūt* (names)". The father of the bride then places a few grains of rice from the *sūp* on the palm of the *māti*'s hand and tells the supposed spirit,—“Examine the rice and reveal the future luck of so-and-so (naming the bride)”. The *māti* now appears to con the rice in his hand intently, turning his hand this way and that way, and then exclaims,—“Go, now. It is all right. The girl will prosper in life”. He then returns the rice to the bride's father who in his turn places the *lōgōn*-thread on the hand of the *māti*, saying,—“O! such-and-such a *bhūt* (names), thou art here. Do thou examine this *lōgōn*-thread, too?” The *māti* examines the *lōgōn*-thread in the same manner and gives it back to the bride's father, saying,—“It is all right, take it to the spirit-seats (*tikhāns*), to all spirits and godlings (*bhūt-deōs*) in uplands and rocky places (*tānr-tikūr*) and then take it into your hut”. Either the bride's father or some other member of the family or the Diguār of the *tāṇḍā* now takes up the leaf-cup with the *lōgōn*-thread in it and carries it to each spirit-seat (*tikhān*) and exclaims,—“Look, the *lōgōn* of so-and-so (names the bride) has been knotted to-day. May she have good luck”. Then he returns to the hut with the *lōgōn* in the leaf-cup, and distributes some of the rice in it to his *tāṇḍā*-fellows by way of

invitation to the wedding. Invitation to friends and relatives belonging to other *ṭāṇḍās* is issued by sending a little turmeric-dyed rice to them, sometimes with slices of betel-nuts. The leaf-cup with the *lōgōn*-thread in it is finally deposited in the sacred *āding* of the hut where the ancestor-spirits are believed to have their seat.

(viii)—*Ascertaining the omens from and making Chumān of the Lōgōn at the Bridegroom's ṭāṇḍā.*

Arrived at their *ṭāṇḍā*, the bridegroom's people place the *lōgōn*-thread on a leaf-cup on the courtyard of the bridegroom's hut. The courtyard, it may be mentioned, is cleaned beforehand with a coating of mud or, in some places, of cowdung. As was done at the bride's place, a *māti* tells the fortune of the bridegroom from the *lōgōn*-thread; the 'kissing' of the *lōgōn* is done by women; the leaf containing the *lōgōn*-thread is taken to each spirit-seat in the *ṭāṇḍā* and the blessings of the spirits are invoked; and finally the *lōgōn*-thread is deposited in the *āding* of the bridegroom's hut.

The *māti* again works himself up into a state of supposed possession by another spirit. A little oil mixed with pounded turmeric is placed in a *ḍōṇā* (leaf-cup) before him, and a stone *lōṛhā* (stone used in pounding turmeric and other condiments) is placed in his hands. He then brings one end of the *lōṛhā* in contact with the oil and pounded turmeric in the *ḍōṇā* and with this end of the *lōṛhā* anoints the bridegroom's feet, knee-joints, elbows and forehead with oil and turmeric. Thenceforth every evening until the day fixed for the marriage, his female relatives anoint his body with oil mixed with pounded turmeric.

(ix)—*Ādhībās of the Bridegroom.*

On the morning of the day when the bridegroom's party is to start for the bride's place (which is usually the day fixed for the marriage), a party of women go in a procession to a neighbouring stream or spring to fetch ceremonial water. The party

includes two spinsters, each of whom carries, a new earthen pitcher (*gharā*), one woman carries a sword and another a bow and arrows. When the two girls have filled their pitchers with water and placed them on their heads, some woman takes a long thread dyed yellow with turmeric, twists it three times round the necks of the two pitchers, and covers their mouths with a new piece of cloth similarly dyed.

On their return to the bridegroom's place the two girls stand before the door of the hut each with her pitcher poised on her head. The mother of the bridegroom comes out with a potsherd containing some live charcoal and sprinkles a handful of mustard-seeds on the fire. When the mustard-seeds burst in the fire, the potsherd with its contents is left upside down on the courtyard. As the object of the drawn sword and the bow and arrows appears to be to scare away evil spirits, so the object of the burning of the mustard seeds would appear to be to prevent the evil eye of others from doing harm to the bridegroom. Each of the two water-carriers receives from the bridegroom's mother a reward of two pice.

The two pitchers of water are now deposited in the courtyard on some stand, preferably a string-bed. The sister's husband of the bridegroom digs a miniature tank about a foot deep and two feet square and on its eastern edge plants a plantain sapling. On its western edge a stone-slab is placed over three bundles of thatching grass. The bridegroom and his mother sit down on this stone-slab with their faces to the east. With mango-twigs brought by the bridegroom's elder sister's husband, the two girls sprinkle water from their pitchers on the bridegroom, who is then bathed in the water of one of the two pitchers, and his mother is bathed in that of the other. The bridegroom then takes a meal of boiled rice, pot-herbs, etc. His mother then takes up on her head a new winnowing-basket (*sūp*) containing one arrow, one lighted earthen lamp, some rice, and four pice and sits down at the door of her hut just inside the door-step. The bridegroom sits down facing her on the other (outer) side of the door-step. The husband of the bridegroom's sister now soaks a

small rag with a little blood drawn from the left-hand little finger of the bridegroom. This rag, known as *sināi*, is wrapped in another rag, and put into the waist cloth of the bridegroom. The husband of the bridegroom's elder sister now twists into the shape of cigarettes each of the mango leaves with which water was sprinkled on the bridegroom and from these he makes six garlands, three leaves being strung together for each. These garlands are worn one on the arm and one on the leg of the bridegroom, and similarly one on the arm and one on the leg of the bridegroom's father and one on an arm and one on a leg of the bridegroom's mother. The bridegroom's elder sister's husband also threads a betel-nut on a string, which he slings across the bridegroom's right shoulder like the sacred thread of a Brāhman.

(x)—*Bridegroom's Uli-Sākhi.*

The bridegroom now puts on his bridal dress, consisting of a *dhōti* or loin cloth dyed yellow with turmeric, and, if possible, a chadar or wrapper for the body, and a piece of cloth to serve as a *pāgrī* or turban. He now proceeds on the arms of his elder sister's husband to a mango-tree on the way to the bride's village, accompanied by his mother and other women of the *lāṇḍā*. The women carry a *lōḷā* or water-jug, two leaf-plates, besides a few leaf-cups containing respectively molasses, rice flour, vermilion, and some unbleached thread. Arrived at the foot of the tree, the bridegroom with the little finger of his right hand puts a mark of vermilion on the trunk of the tree; and while his finger is still on the tree, a woman twists a thread five times round the trunk just below the vermilion mark. Some one now brings down with a stick some leaves or twigs of the tree, and the stalks of a few of these mango leaves are handed over to the bridegroom who after chewing them a little gives them to his mother who swallows them mixed with molasses. This is repeated five times.

The bridegroom and his party, consisting of both men and women including the husband of one of his younger sisters or cousins, who acts as the *Lakṇḍi* or best man, now start for the

bride's *tāṇḍā* while his mother and a few other women return home. The mother remains fasting until the time for the wedding which generally takes place early next morning. She may, however, take any spirituous drink she pleases.

(xi)—*Circumambulation of the Bride's tāṇḍā.*

When they arrive at the boundary of the bride's *tāṇḍā*, the bridegroom and his party walk round it three times and finally enter an enclosure (*jhāmṛā*) of twigs and branches of trees made for their accommodation by the bride's people.

(xii).—*Adhibās of the Bride.*

Now the *adhibās* ceremony of the bride is performed in exactly the same manner as the bridegroom's *adhibās* [vide (ix) *ante*], the only difference being that blood is drawn from the little finger of the bride's right hand (and not left hand as in the case of the bridegroom), and a thread with a betel-nut strung on it is slung across the bride's left shoulder (and not right shoulder as in the case of the bridegroom). The bride's sister's husband discharges the same functions (such as digging the miniature tank) that we have seen the bridegroom's sister's husband performing on the occasion of the bridegroom's *adhibās*. A few women of the bridegroom's party go to the bride's place and anoint her with oil and turmeric. She then bathes and puts on the bridal cloth presented by the bridegroom's parents. A few women of the bride's party go to the bridegroom's quarters (*jhāmṛā*) with oil and turmeric and similarly anoint him therewith and then he bathes and puts on his bridal clothes.

(xiii)—*Ārchhā-Parohhā or Welcoming the Bridegroom.*

When the bridegroom arrives in procession before the bride's father's hut, three or five females come out to welcome him. They carry a new basket containing pounded turmeric and three or five torches made of rags soaked in oil and wound round stalks of mango leaves. Standing in front of the bridegroom, each of the women in turn holds one of these lighted torches in her left hand, and with her right hand besmears the temples

of the bridegroom with pounded turmeric. The bridegroom in his turn puts with his right hand pounded turmeric on the temples of these women. Then the women throw away their torches.

(xiv)—*Sprinkling the Bridegroom with Ceremonial Water.*

Two pitchers of water have already been brought from some neighbouring stream, tank, or spring, by two girls with the following ceremonies. The girls while going to draw water, are accompanied by some married women, one of whom carries an axe (*pharsā*) or, if available, a sword, and another, bow and an arrow. Arrived at the stream, tank, or spring, one of the married women puts three marks of vermilion on the bank, and gives three strokes with the axe or sword on the water. The pitchers are then filled with water and brought home by the girls. When the bridegroom and the female relative of his bride have been introduced to one another by the *ārchhā-parcḥhā* ceremony, two girls come out with these pitchers of water, and with a few small mango twigs sprinkle the water all over the bridegroom's body. The bridegroom in his turn dips one or two mango-twigs into a bowl of water held up before him by some one of his party. The bridegroom's father gives two pice to each of the two girls.

(xv)—*Introduction of the Bridegroom to his Mother-in-law.*

Some married women of the bride's *ṣāṇḍā* now come out with a new basket containing some unhusked rice, tender grass-shoots, two baked rice flour cakes and a number of small round pellets of boiled rice flour and a quantity of pellets made of cowdung. Three or five of the women (including the mother and paternal aunts of the bride) now take up from the basket the rice flour pellets and one after another wave them round the bridegroom's head and then throw them away in the direction of the bridegroom's *ṣāṇḍā*. Then they similarly wave the pellets of cowdung and throw them towards the bride's hut. The bride's mother next takes up the two rice flour cakes and touches the bridegroom's cheeks with them and then kisses the cakes and puts

them back into the basket. She then anoints the cheeks of the bridegroom thrice with molasses, and wipes away the marks with water from the *lōtā*. Finally she takes up a *sāmāt* or wooden pestle, flourishes it before the bridegroom and then strikes it on the ground telling the bridegroom, as she does so, "Mind, if you do not bring home game we shall beat you in this manner." After this the bridegroom is taken back to the *jhāmṛā* or enclosure where his people have been accommodated.

(xvi)—*Bride's Uli-Sākhi.*

Now the bride's mother with a few other women proceed towards a mango-tree. One of the women carries the bride in her arms. This mango-tree must not be in the direction of the bridegroom's *tāṇḍā*. Should there be no mango-tree in the village in any direction other than that in which the bridegroom's *tāṇḍā* is situate, a mango branch is planted in the ground, in a suitable direction and under that tree or branch, the same ceremonies are performed by the bride and her mother and other companions as we have seen performed by the bridegroom and his mother and others at the bridegroom's *uli-sākhi*.

(xvii)—*Looting the Sārā-dhōti.*

The bridegroom now returns from his '*jhāmṛā*' to the bride's place and stands in the courtyard. This time he has a new *dhōti* wound round his neck. The *Diguār* of the bride's *tāṇḍā* approaches him carrying on his shoulders a younger brother of the bride, and stands face to face with the bridegroom. Both the bride's younger brother and the bridegroom now put a handful of raw rice into their own mouths, and each blows on the other the rice in his mouth. Then finally the bride's brother snatches away from the neck of the bridegroom the new cloth known as the '*Sārā-dhōti*' or 'the cloth for the wife's younger brother.'

(xviii)—*Exchange of Blood.*

The bride is now brought out on a bamboo basket carried by three or four men. Two *sāl*-leaf-plates are placed side by side in the

courtyard (and in certain clans on a mud platform known as 'marōā' erected in the courtyard for the purpose). The bridegroom stands on one of these plates with his face to the east, and the bride stands on the other with her face to the west. Two women hold up a cloth as a screen between them. The bride and bridegroom pelt each other with unboiled rice three times across the screen. Then they change places. The 'sināi' or blood-stained rag of the bridegroom is now put into his hand and the bride's *sināi* is put into her hand. They first bring their respective *sināis* in contact with the earth, then in contact with their own necks, and finally the bridegroom touches the neck of the bride with his *sināi* and the bride touches his neck with hers. This process is repeated three times. Then they again change places, and exchange their garlands of mango leaves.

(xix)—*Sindūri-rākāb or Anointing with Vermilion.*

Now comes the essential and binding part of the marriage ceremony—the mutual application of vermilion which makes the pair man and wife. The bride at first has her face fully veiled. On the bridegroom's father or some other relative putting on a brass bracelet on her left arm, the bride unveils her forehead thus permitting it to be marked with vermilion. The bridegroom first puts three marks of oil on the ground and over each of these marks puts a mark of vermilion. Then the bridegroom and the bride change places. The bridegroom now with the finger of his right-hand besmears the bride's forehead with vermilion. Then the bride similarly puts three marks of oil, and over them of vermilion, on the ground, changes places with the bridegroom, and with her right-hand fingers besmears the bridegroom's forehead with vermilion. In some *tāṇḍās*, where the people have come in contact with Hindus or Hinduized aborigines, the spectators give lusty shouts of "Haribōl-Hari" while bride and bridegroom are putting vermilion marks on each other's forehead. Until this anointing with vermilion the mother of the bride, like the mother of the bridegroom at her *tāṇḍā*, observes a fast although she may drink liquor.

After this *sinduri-rākāb* ceremony, the bride, the bridegroom and his Lūkūṇḍi are taken to the *īkhāns* or spirit-seats of the *tāṇḍā*, and at each of these *īkhāns*, they bow down before the wooden and clay representations of the spirits.

(xx)—*Barring the Door against the Bridegroom.*

The bride and bridegroom are now conducted from the courtyard towards the bride's hut. A few girl-friends of the bride take their stand at the door and prevent their entrance into the hut. To make them desist from obstructing their way, the bridegroom's father pays them a *solatium* of an anna or so. Then the pair enter the hut and are seated on a palm-leaf mat. The bride's younger sister now 'places' before the bridegroom a high brimmed plate filled with water. The bridegroom places his feet in the water and a young sister-in-law washes them and then firmly clasps his legs with her hands, and will not let go until the bridegroom's father makes her a present of an anna or so. The bride's mother now places a dish of either boiled or parched rice, together with molasses, before the bridegroom. But the bridegroom will not eat this food unless some present—either a brass vessel or a goat or other animal—is given to him. When he is thus satisfied he eats the food. The girl is at the same time treated to the same delicacies at another part of the house.

(xxi)—*The Marriage Feast and Touching the Lōṭā of Water.*

The people of the bridegroom's party now go and bathe in a stream or spring. On their return to the bride's parents' place, one or two of the bride's relatives wash their feet. Two pots of rice-beer are then brought out, one man on each side offers a libation to the ancestor-spirits as we have seen done on the occasion of the '*jōm-māṇḍi*', after which the liquor is passed round. The *Agīā* or representative of the bride's people now comes forward with a brass bowl (*lōṭā*) placed on a *sāl*-leaf-plate in his hands. The bridegroom's father or other relative asks, "What is this *lōṭā* for?" The *Agīā* replies, "Our tribe-fellows

are assembled to-day. Will they take broken rice-grains (*kḥūdi-mārkhū*) wet (boiled) or dry (unboiled)? I am awaiting your orders". If there is any social offence on the part of the bride's father's family remaining to be expiated by a fine or feast or both, no one will touch the *lōṭā* until the fine or feast demanded is paid or promised. If there is no such offence to be expiated or when the required fine is paid or feast promised, the bridegroom's father touches the *lōṭā*, and says, "I have lost my *lōṭā*, how can I eat dry rice?" Then there is an exchange of salutations between the parties. The *Agiā* again holds up the *lōṭā* with extended hands and asks, "Shall we arrange for broken grains¹ of rice alone, or should we look out for some pot-herb (meaning an animal) too?" Then the bridegroom's father again touches the *lōṭā* and says, "Gather pot-herbs as well". A goat or other animal is thereupon brought out and slain. Its head is roasted and eaten by the male guests as a relish for the liquor. One of the haunches of the animal is set apart as a present for the bridegroom's party to take to their *tāṇḍā* with them. In the evening dinner is served in the same manner as in the *jōm-māṇḍi* feast (vide p. 69 *ante*); and the same ceremonies are observed as in the *jōm-māṇḍi*—of offering some rice to the ancestor-spirits of bride and bridegroom, the two headmen of the two parties eating two morsels of rice before the other guests begin. After this marriage-feast, the guests wash their hands and mouths, chew powdered tobacco mixed with lime, and retire to bed for the night.

The bridegroom and his best man or *Lūkūṇḍi* sleep together that night in one *kumbā* or leaf-hut, while the bride with her *Lūkūṇḍi* (or bridesmaid) who is a younger female cousin (but not an uterine sister) of hers, sleeps in another *kumbā*.

(xxii)—*The Chumān or Symbolical 'Kissing' Ceremony.*

Next morning, bridegroom and bride are conducted to the *āngan* or open space before the main hut of the family, and are

¹ This is said in humility. In reality 'whole' and not 'broken' grains of rice are meant. This is of a piece with the euphemistic use of 'pot-herbs' for 'meat' and 'wet grains' for 'boiled rice'.

seated on a palm-leaf mat. To the right of the bridegroom is seated his *lūkūṇḍi*. Similarly, to the left of the bride sits her *lūkūṇḍi*. The women of the *ṭāṇḍā*, one after another, come forward to make "*chumān*" first of the bridegroom and then of the bride in the following manner. Each takes up by turns a bamboo-basket containing some unhusked rice, tender grass-shoots, and a lighted earthen oil lamp, waves it three times before the face of the bridegroom or bride, as the case may be, sprinkles a few grains of unhusked rice and a few shoots of grass on the head of the bridegroom or bride and then after warming her hands by holding them one on each side of the lighted lamp, touches the temples of the bridegroom or the bride with the warm hands which she then kisses herself.

(xxiii)—*Beginning of the Taboo between a Birkōr and the Elder Sisters and Cousins of his Wife.*

As each woman finishes the *chumān*, she puts down a cash present known as *chumān-pūsā* (the amount varying from an anna upwards according to the circumstances of the woman) on a brass-plate placed before the pair for the purpose. The elder sisters and cousins of the bride are the last to perform the ceremonial *chumān* of their brother-in-law. And in their case an additional interesting ceremony attends the *chumān*. After the elder sisters and cousins of the bride have performed the *chumān* ceremony as described above, each of them by turns asks the bridegroom, what his name is. The bridegroom tells his name, and in his turn asks her, "What is your name, please?" She tells her own name, and then, dipping a leafy mango-twigg in a bowl, sprinkles water on the bridegroom. The latter, in his turn, sprinkles water on her with a mango-twigg dipped in water on a brass-plate placed before him. As each woman finishes this ceremonial sprinkling of water (*dā-hipirchi* or *jhamk-jhimki*), she pulls the bridegroom by the ears, deals three blows with her fist on his back, and tells him, "From to-day regard me as your *Jekh-sās*; listen well with your ears, do not utter my name again with your

lips". After saying this she puts her present on the plate before the bridegroom and goes away. Thenceforth the '*banhōi*' and his '*Je!h-sās*' may not utter each other's name nor sit together on the same mat, nor come close to each other, nor talk to each other, except on urgent and unavoidable business, and even then from a respectful distance.

(xxiv)—*The Farewell Ceremony.*

Now the bridegroom prepares to return to his *tāṇḍā* with his bride. The bride stands just outside the threshold of her hut with the palms of her hand joined together by the inner sides and extended forward. The bridegroom stands behind her on the door-step, clasping with his two hands the two wrists of the bride.

The bride's mother stands just behind the bridegroom and at the inner side of the door-step. Some other woman standing behind the bride's mother holds a cloth stretched out at full length. Another woman with a winnowing-basket, containing some rice, stands by the side of the bride. This woman places a handful of rice on the extended palms of the bride's hands and asks her, "Whose house are you filling with plenty, dear?" The bride replies, "I am filling my brother's hut with plenty.", and at the same time throws away the rice over her own head into the cloth stretched out behind her mother. This is repeated twice more. The object of this ceremony is that the girl may not take away plenty and prosperity from her parents' or brothers' family. Now the bride and bridegroom carried on the arms of women and followed by a number of other women and girls, proceed in the direction of the bridegroom's *tāṇḍā*. Arrived at the outskirts of the bride's father's *tāṇḍā* the women come to a halt and ask for *gāti-bāge* or *Sangchharāuni paisā*, that is to say, a *solatium* for giving up their companion (the bride). The bridegroom's father gives them an anna or so, and they return to their *tāṇḍā* leaving the bride. Then the bridegroom and his party proceed towards their *tāṇḍā* with the bride and her *Lūkūndi*.

(xxv)—*Ārchhā-parchhā or Welcoming the Bride.*

When the bride and bridegroom reach the bridegroom's place, the bride is welcomed with lighted torches and pounded turmeric in the same manner and with the same ceremonies as we saw at the bridegroom's *ārchhā-parchhā* or welcoming ceremony at the bride's father's place. (See section xiii, page 18 *ante*.) At this time the mother of the bridegroom puts an iron wristlet (*kharā*) on the left arm of the bride and besmears vermillion on her forehead, and a number of other women of the bridegroom's *tāṇḍā* sing indecent songs abusive of the bride.

(xxvi)—*First day's Ceremonies at the Bridegroom's House.*

Then a number of girls take their stand at the door of the bridegroom's hut and bar the entrance of the wedded pair until they are given a present (*Duār-chhekōwni paisā*). The bride's *Lūkūṇḍi* pays them an anna or so, whereupon they leave the door.

When the pair enter the hut, a younger sister of the bridegroom washes the feet of the bride, and receives from the bride's *Lūkūṇḍi* four piṣe for her trouble. Then bridegroom and bride are treated to a meal of rice and molasses. They are next conducted to the miniature tank previously excavated in the courtyard at the time of the *Adhibāsh* (vide ix, page 76 *ante*). And there a few married women, whose husbands are alive and living with them, bathe the bridegroom and bride.

One of the women now closes with her hands the eyes of the bridegroom who then takes out three cigarette-shaped mango leaves which were fastened on his arm at the *Adhibāsh* ceremony (page 76, *ante*), and buries them with his hands in the water of the miniature tank. Another woman then closes with her hands the eyes of the bride who has now to search for the mango leaves with her hands and bring them out one after another from the 'tank'. In some Jāghi clans a second *sindūri rākāb* ceremony is now performed in the following manner. The bride and bridegroom stand on the *maṛḍā* or mud platform in the courtyard; and the bridegroom three times anoints oil on the

bride's forehead and puts vermilion marks on it as in the *sindūri-rākāb* ceremony described above (xix, page 82 above); and the bride similarly puts oil and *sindūr* marks three times on the bridegroom's forehead. Among the Kāwān clan of Birhōrs, before bride and bridegroom enter the hut, a fowl is sacrificed in the courtyard and its blood is sprinkled on the young couple. The bridegroom's mother draws with rice flour moistened with water a chain of circular figures from the *āngan* up to the door of the hut. On each circular figure is placed a mango leaf on each of which the bridegroom and after him the bride treads in walking to the door of the hut.

In the evening the bridegroom's father treats his relatives and fellow *ṭāṇḍā*-people to a feast and drinking at which two of the elders in the manner already described offer libations of rice-beer and offerings of boiled rice to the ancestor-spirits before the assembled guests begin to eat and drink. Before they begin to eat, the bride stands before them with a large leaf-cup (*kālā*) filled with boiled rice, and the elders of the *ṭāṇḍā* ask her, "Henceforth will you always supply us with food in this way? If you promise to do so, we shall eat this food at your hands; if not, we won't take it". The bride promises to find food for them; and they all fall to eating. After washing their hands and mouths, the guests take tobacco powder mixed with lime and go to their respective huts. Bridegroom and bride sleep in separate huts that night.

(xxvii)—*The Chouṭhā-Chouṭhi Ceremony.*

Next morning both the bridegroom and the bride change their turmeric-dyed clothes which are then boiled in water mixed with ashes, cleaned, and put out to dry. After change of clothes, the bride carrying on her head a basket containing about a score of clay marbles and in her hands a *lōṭā* filled with water and covered over with a cup-leaf containing some molasses, proceeds on the way to her father's *ṭāṇḍā*. Her husband carrying in his hands a bow and arrow and a leafy mango-twigg follows her at some distance. As soon as the bride reaches the limits of her

husband's *ṭāṇḍā*, she puts down on the ground the basket and the *lōṭā* and begins to run in the direction of her father's *ṭāṇḍā*. At this, her husband leaves his bow and arrow near the basket left by his wife, and gives chase to her until he overtakes her. Seizing hold of her hand, he strikes her on her buttocks with the mango-twigg in his hand, and leads her back by the hand to the spot where she laid down her basket and where the women of the *ṭāṇḍā* have in the meanwhile assembled. Arrived at the spot, the husband takes up his bow and arrow, the wife takes up the *lōṭā* of water covered over with the cup of molasses, and the wife's *Lūkūṇḍī* takes up the basket containing clay marbles. The husband first shoots his arrow in the direction of his *ṭāṇḍā*. All follow the direction of the arrow. When the husband and the wife reach the spot where the arrow has fallen, the wife besmears the cheek of her husband with a little molasses, then washes away the marks with a little water from her *lōṭā*, she then picks up the arrow and hands it over to her husband. This process of shooting the arrow and picking it up and anointing the cheeks with molasses and washing off the molasses with water, is repeated five times, so that the fifth arrow takes them near the bridegroom's house.

Now the *Lūkūṇḍī* stands beside the bride with the basket of clay marbles in her hands, and the bridegroom's *Lūkūṇḍī* stands beside him with a basket of similar clay marbles. The husband first throws five clay marbles, one after another, at the bride; but her *Lūkūṇḍī*, by standing in front of her, protects her from being hit. Now it is the wife's turn to throw five clay marbles, one after another, at her husband; and she betrays no reluctance to do so. The bridegroom's *Lūkūṇḍī*, however, by placing himself before the bridegroom shields him from being hit. Then the wife returns to her husband's hut carrying the basket on her head and the husband follows her with his bow and arrow. Then they have a bath of cold water; after which the bride washes the feet of her husband. Finally the couple together visit all the *īhkhāns* or spirit-seats in the village and make *īōhār* (obeisance) at each *īhkhān*.

In this *Chouṭhā-Chouṭhi* ceremony we appear to find a reminiscence of the ancient practice of marriage by capture and a dramatic representation of the duties of husband and wife to each other.

(xxviii)—*The Pickhā-seṭer Ceremony.*

Three or four days later, three persons from the bride's father's *ṭāṇḍā*,—including the *teyāṅ* or husband of the elder sister, if any, of the bride,—come to the bridegroom's place. On their arrival, the bridegroom takes charge of their sticks, and the bride washes their feet. Then they sit down and are given powdered tobacco mixed with lime to refresh themselves with. While chewing tobacco, they are asked by some elder of the bridegroom's *ṭāṇḍā*,—"Where do you come from? Where are you going?" They reply,—“We are come to these parts to look for strayed cattle (meaning, the bride). A herd of cattle (meaning, the bridegroom's party) had gone to our parts from this side. We had a she-calf. She joined the herd and came away in this direction, as we have found out by prognostication.” The first speaker replies,—“Look out for your calf then; find her out, see whither she may have gone.” “Ah! here she is”, cries one of the bride's relatives. “Well, then”, is the reply, “If she is your calf; you may take her home”.

After this pleasant bantering, the guests are treated to dinner. Next morning, after breakfast, they take the girl on a temporary visit to her parents.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTION.

I.—The Nandas, Earlier and Later, and their relationship to the Mauryyas.

By Hārīt Krishna Deb, M.A.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in his essay on the Śāisunāka and Mauryya chronology,¹ has suggested that the well-known term *navananda*, applied to the immediate predecessors of Chandragupta, should be translated as *Neo-Nandas* and not as the *nine Nandas*. This interpretation involves the idea of an *older* Nanda dynasty whom the *newer* Nandas supplanted. The older dynasty is easily identified with the two kings generally described as “Nandivardhana” and “Mahānandin” who preceded Mahāpadma Nanda. In some MSS. of the Purāṇas, as Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out, these names are actually spelt “Nandavar-dhana” and “Mahānanda”, and it is possible that the former spellings were devised to keep the base-born Nandas distinct from their progenitors².

2. The *Bṛihat-kathā* of Guṇāḍhya, as preserved to us in the Sanskrit redactions, the *Bṛihat-kathā-mañjarī* of Kṣemendra and the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara* of Somadeva, explicitly supports this hypothesis when it describes Chandragupta as *pūrvanandasuta*, i.e., “the son (or descendant) of the *earlier* Nanda.”³

¹ J. B. & O. R. S., Sept. 1915.

² The Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇas generally characterize only the base-born Nandas as “Nandas”. Some copies of the Vāyu imply it. The Matsya does not know the appellation at all.

³ Kṣemendra says:—

नान्दवर्धनादिनाथः पुरातनः रजः ।

इत्यादिना विधाय समाहास्यपुत्रो निहतो नृपः ॥

3. Hemachandra, in his *Parisiṣṭaparvan*, places the base-born Nanda, instead of Nandavardhana, immediately after Udāyin⁴. This mistake was an easy consequence of confusion between the *pūrvanandas* and the *navanandas*. That Hemachandra had accepted the perverted meaning of the term *navananda* is proved by his statement —

ततस्त्रिखण्डपृथिवीवति : पतिरिवश्रियः ।

समुखातद्विषत्कन्दो नन्दोऽभून्नवमो नृपः ॥

[Canto VIII, verse 3.]

4. Both versions of the *Bṛihat-kathā* agree in describing Chandragupta as a descendant of the older Nanda dynasty, and are silent as to the alleged *Śūdra* origin of the founder of the Maurya empire, though the Nandas who were ousted by Chandragupta are described as such.⁵

5. The current view, however, is that Chandragupta was a *Śūdra*, either on his father's or on his mother's side. This view should now be abandoned. We have first-rate evidence, on the authority of Kauṭilya himself, that Chandragupta was

योगनन्दे यशः श्रेष्ठे पूर्वनन्दसुतस्ततः ।

चन्द्रगुप्तो वृत्तो राज्ये चाणक्यं न महोजसा ॥

[कथापीठे-योगनन्दपुत्रस्य यशः श्रेष्ठे । (S. Lévi's edition,

p. 47; Kāvya-mālā series, p. 24.)

Somadeva says :—

महामन्त्री ह्ययं स्वेच्छमचिरात्त्वां विनाशयेत् ।

पूर्वनन्दसुतं कुर्याच्चन्द्रगुप्तं हि भूमिपम् ॥

(Bombay edition, p. 12. Taranga IV.)

Again—

हत्वाहिरण्यगुप्तं च शकटालिनं तत्सुतम् ।

पूर्वनन्दसुते सत्त्वोच्चन्द्रगुप्ते निवेशिता ॥

(Bombay edition, p. 16.)

⁴ Jacobi's edition (Bib. Ind.), Canto VI, p. 46 of Eng. trans.

⁵ Bṛihat-Kathā-mañjarī, Kāvya-mālā series, p. 17, verse 121.

Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara, Bombay edition, p. 12, verse 114.

high-born. In answering the question : Which is better, a weak but high-born king, or a strong but low-born king ? Kaṭilya remarks :—

“A people will naturally obey a high-born king though he is weak, for the tendency of a prosperous people is to follow a high-born king. Also, they render the intrigues of a strong but base-born person, unavailing, as the saying is, that possession of virtue makes for friendship.”⁶

“The best qualities of the king are :—

Born of a high family, godly, possessed of valour, and possessed of a taste for discipline; these are the qualities of an inviting nature.”⁷ And we know that Kaṭilya's enumeration is generally in order of importance. It cannot be imagined that one who held these views helped to the throne a low-born Chandragupta.

6. The printed editions of the *Mudrā-rākṣasa*, and consequently many MSS. of the same drama, make Chāṇakya address Chandragupta as *vṛṣala*, i.e., *Śūdra*. This is *à priori* absurd, for what could Chāṇakya hope to gain by constantly drawing pointed attention to his master's low birth, even if he were actually low-born ? Throughout the drama, Chāṇakya addresses his former pupil by derivatives of *Bhavat* (=you, French *vous*) and never of *guṣmad* (=thou, French *tu*). It is preposterous to believe that these respectful forms of speech were combined with the opprobrious epithet *vṛṣala*. Moreover, did not Chāṇakya, according to the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* itself, pledge himself to the destruction of the entire race of kings born of the Nanda monarch who had insulted him ? It would be a contradiction to install upon the throne a scion of the very dynasty Chāṇakya had determined to uproot. The fact seems to be that *vṛṣala* is a misreading for *vṛṣabha*. *Vṛṣabha* is the reading in most places in a remarkable manuscript of the drama in the possession of the Asiatic

⁶ Kaṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, trans. by Shāmasāstri, p. 396. I am indebted for this reference to my friend Kumār Sudhindra Chandra Sinhasarmā, B. Sc., of Susang.

⁷ Kaṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, trans. by Shāmasāstri, p. 310.

and was reigning in India, although he had left the Antarveda of the Yamunā-and-Gaṅgā.

85. There were three great contributions of the Vākāṭaka Emperor. His father Vindhyaśakti for

about forty years of the last portion of the Bhāraśiva imperial rule was the real fighter and empire-builder of the Bhāraśivas. Inheriting his energy and ideal, Three great contributions: All-India Imperial Idea; Revival of Sanskrit; Social Revival.

Pravarasena I evolved a clear political thesis. (1) His thesis was a Hindu Empire for the whole of India and enthronement of the śāstras. (2) A great literary movement in favour of Sanskrit begins about 250 A.D. and in fifty years reaches a pitch at which the Guptas take it up. We have the drama *Kaumudimahotsava*, written about 340 A.D., where the whole literary movement is cinematographed. It was written at the Court of a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor by a woman, at practically one sitting, to whom Sanskrit Kāvya was as facile a subject as to Bhāsa and Kālidāsa. Classical Sanskrit had become her vernacular. It had become the Court language. Expressions and forms had become set, and everyone in the official circle talked and wrote in Sanskrit. The earliest Vākāṭaka inscriptions found near or at their capital are in Sanskrit. In the South at that time,—a generation after Śivaskandavarman—Sanskrit begins ruling in royal documents. The set genealogical form in the Vākāṭaka documents, repeated generation after generation, shows that in the time of Pravarasena I, Sanskrit drafting must have come into vogue. Samudra Gupta and his successors follow exactly the system of Vākāṭaka drafting. At the Court of another feudatory, Gaṇapati Nāga, vernacular literary tradition is converted into Sanskrit classical poetry where the verses written for the Nāga-rāja in the *Bhāva-śataka* remind one of the [Prakrit] *Gāthā-śaptaśatī*. (3) The *Kaumudimahotsava* gives us an insight into the Social Revival. Revival of *Varṇāśrama dharma* and Hindu orthodoxy is emphasized very pointedly; it was the cry of the time. The society under the Vākāṭaka imperialism was seeking to purge

the abuses crept in under the Kushan rule. It was a Hindu Puritan Movement which was greatly fostered, and which received a wide imperial implication under Pravarasena I.¹

86. We find the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā become royal and national symbols in
 Revival of Art. architecture. The Matsya Purāṇa which embodies the text on architecture up to the Sātavāhana period, as observed above, knows nothing of the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā as essential or otherwise, to be associated with the temple of Śiva or Viṣṇu or of any other god. Their adoption is essentially a political motif. The association of the Bhārasīvas with the Ganges was a vital moral force in the Bhārasīva period. The Bhārasīvas liberated the Gaṅgā and brought her in the sphere of art as on their coins. They also brought the Yamunā within the compass of their art, as Bhūmarā and the Nāga-canopied figures of the two river-goddesses at Deogarh would indicate. But the Vākātakas made them their 'imperial symbols', ~~from the time they were transmitted to the Chālukyas and became their 'Imperial Symbols'~~ were transmitted to the Chālukyas and became their 'Imperial Symbols'² (§ 101 A). The Pallavas—the branch line of the Vākātakas—used them.³ And the people were always conscious of the political meaning of this symbolism—'the Empire' ('the Empire of Āryāvarta').⁴ In the Nāga-

¹ Long and repeated Vedic sacrifices [agnishtoma, aptoryāma, ukthya, shoḍaśin, ātirātra, vājapeya, Bṛhaspatisava, sādyaskra and Aśvamedhas] [G.I., 236] must have been occasions for big gatherings and missionary propaganda.

² See S.I.I., Vol. I, p. 54, where Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Makara-Toraṇa, Kanaka-Daṇḍa, etc. are called the dynastic imperial insignia (Sāmrajya-chinhāni) of the Chālukyas. See also I.A., VIII, 26.

³ See the seal of the Velurapalayam plates, S.I.I., Vol. II, p. 521, where in the second row the figure of Yamunā is in relief with a tortoise below, and the figure of Gaṅgā with two pitchers at her feet is in the middle. There is a serpent-hood canopy on the head.

⁴ I.A., XII, 156, 163. The Rāshtrakūṭa copperplate of Wani (Baroda) described the triumph of Govind-Rāja II in capturing the banners bearing the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā in these words: 'Govinda-Rāja, the personification of fame, taking from his enemies the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, charming with their waves, acquired at the same time that supreme position of lordship (which was indicated) by (those rivers in) the form of a visible sign'—cf. Fleet, I.A., XX, 275, who attributed them to have been

Vākāṭaka idolisation of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, there is the idolisation and idealisation of the land of the Gaṅgā-and-Yamunā where they re-established orthodoxy. The elegant moulding of the river-goddesses at Bhūmarā and Nachnā are a mirror of the Nāga-Vākāṭaka culture. The Vākāṭakas themselves were a line of handsome men. The (e) Vāyu manuscript notes that the four sons of Pravīra were *sumūrtayaḥ*, handsome, statue-like.¹ The Ajaṇṭā inscription especially notes the handsomeness of Devasena and Harishena. Under the Vākāṭakas the art of sculpture and the graphic art of Ajaṇṭā which lay under their direct government, were vivified. The tradition was kept up in the later Vākāṭaka period. The credit of this revival of Hindu art which had been universally attributed by the present-day writers wholly to the Guptas, like the credit of Sanskrit revival, really belongs to the Vākāṭakas. The seed of all architectural modes which reach their full development at Eran, Udaygiri, Deogarh and Ajaṇṭā and even later, are all to be found in the Vākāṭaka temples at Nachnā—the perforated window, the *gavākṣha* balcony, the sikhara, the entwined serpent, the sculptured and ornamented door-frame, the bulging shape of the sikhara, the square temple in the residential style, etc. [On the age of the Nachnā temples, see App. A at the end.]

87. Their non-adoption of a spectacular coinage like that of Chandra Gupta I is not due to any want of artistic capacity², but is due to their conservatism and partiality for the past. They would not imitate the coinage of the Kushans whom they regarded as the enemy of the nation and as low Mlechchhas. Its adoption by Chandra Gupta I would have been looked down upon by them as an act of denationalization. Under the Vākāṭaka influence Samudra Gupta himself had to revert, in his feudatory stage, to a type of coinage which was national³.

derived by 'some means or another from the Early Guptas.' [The Nāga-Vākāṭaka symbolism had not been discovered in his time.]

¹ P.T., p. 50, n. 38.

² See the bull on the coin of Prithivishena I, § 61 above; C.I.M., Pl. XX, fig. 4.

³ His tiger-type (which is in gold), bearing the Imperial Vākāṭaka symbol of Gaṅgā.

88. The system of the Vākātaka administration was borrowed from the Bhāraśivas and in its turn it was borrowed by Samudra Gupta. But both had introduced certain modifications of their own. The Vākātaka system consisted of a large central state under their direct rule with two capitals and a number of hereditary sub-rulers, and an imperial confederacy of free states. In the Bhāraśiva system the imperial keystone existed almost as an equal brick of the state-arch, while in the Vākātaka one it became a prominent piece.

89. The Vākātakas established subsidiary dynasties of their relations. According to the Purāṇas, Subordinates and Empire. Pravarasena I's four sons were rulers. Mahārāja Śrī Bhīmasena who has left a painted inscription in a cave-temple on the Ginjā hill, about 40 miles to the south-west of Allahabad, dated in the 52nd year, was evidently the governor of Kauśāmbī and probably a son of Pravarasena.¹ Important subordinate families (e.g. of Gaṇapati Nāga, Su-Pratīkara), as well as the members of the Empire (the Republics), were allowed to mint their own money. In the Gupta system, in Āryāvarta, the only ruling relation was the Vākātaka who was practically independent. The Guptas preferred to have servants as governors and practically stopped the coinage of all subordinates. Both allowed their subordinate rulers to employ the title of *Mahārāja*, after the fashion of *Mahākshatrapa*, avoiding of course, that term. The Vākātaka emperor, however, did not translate the *Shāhānu-shāhi* as *Mahārājādhirāja*, as the Guptas did, but went back to the time-honoured Vedic imperial title *Samrāt*.

90. The faith of the Vākātakas was strict Śaivism.² It changed only for one generation in the time of Rudrasena II, under the influence of his wife Prabhāvatī and father-in-law, Religious Faith and Sacred Remains.

¹ A.S.R., Vol. XXI, p. 119, Plate XXX; E.I., Vol. III, page 306. See here below § 103.

² The Vākātaka inscriptions record it; their coins have Nandi. Up to the time of Rudrasena I, *Mahā-Bhairava* was the royal deity; Prithivīśaheṇa adopted *Mahēśvara* [which form is a compromise between Vishṇu and Śiva]. G. I. 236. Nachnā has *Mahā-Bhairava* [See App. A].

8. The above arguments seem to warrant the conclusion that the "Nandas" comprised two distinct groups of monarchs — one the illegitimate descendant of the other — correlatively called *pūrvananda* and *navananda*; that Chandragupta was a descendant of the former and consequently was not low-born, on his father's side; that, on the incontrovertible authority of Kauṭilya himself Chandragupta could not have been low-born, even on his mother's side, as tradition would have it; that *vṛṣabha*, not *vṛṣala*, was the word used by Viśākhadatta's Chāṇakya in addressing Chandragupta. It is not clear, however, whether *vṛṣabha* was his second name, or was a term indicating royal dignity and power.¹⁴ The later tradition regarding Chandragupta's connexion with the newer and base-born Nandas appears to have resulted from a confusion of the older with the newer Nandas.

since there is no third alternative. The *Bhāgavata* (with *Viṣṇu*) tries to avoid ambiguity by saying :—

Tato nṛpā bhaviṣyanti Sūdra-prāyā stvadhārmikāḥ, which seems to refer to the pro-Buddhist tendency of the Mauryas. The *Bhāgavata* verses in this part of the Dynastic list are entirely recast from the original, avoiding ambiguity so far as possible. For instance, it does not mention Kauṭilya by name, as the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* do but refers to him simply as *devījah kaścit*, in order not to overburden the laconic list of Kings by the unusual introduction of the name of a minister. The *Matsya* text about Kauṭilya might, moreover, be easily misinterpreted as making that minister himself rule the land for a hundred years.

¹⁴. *Vṛṣabha* was the name of one of the sons of Kārtavīrya Arjuna and is a common personal name in ancient literature. *Vṛṣabhā* was the name of an Indian river. (See *Mahābhārata Bhīsmaparva* IX). *Vṛṣabha* also means "the powerful," according to the Petersburg dictionary, as pointed out to me by Mr. Jayaswal. For a definition of the term *Vṛṣala*, see *Mānavadharmasāstra*, VIII, 16. Kauṭilya himself uses the word in a bad sense in his *राष्ट्रशास्त्रम्*, page 199 (original edition).

Vṛṣkala according to the MBh. (XII. 90. 15.) means a heretic (Buddhist Jain, etc). AS uses it in the same sense throughout (e.g., page 20, where *Vṛṣkala* is a nun). Mr. Śamasastri's trans. of the passage at page 199 is wrong. It ought to be 'Sakyas, Ājivakas and others, the heretical sects', K. P. J. (Ed.)

II.—A Note on the Hathigumpha Inscription.

“ELEPHANT-SHIPS.”

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A.

IN connexion with the mention (line 13) of the “Elephant-ships” and elephants, etc.,¹ which were brought to Emperor Khāravela in the twelfth year of his reign, from the King of the Pāṇḍya country (in the extreme South opposite Ceylon), I would like to cite a classical authority throwing some light on the subject.

Ælian (*Hist. Anim.* XVI., 18)² writing about the elephants of Ceylon (the Island of Tāmrāparṇi or *Taprobānē*) says :—

“These island elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland, and in appearance larger, and may be pronounced to be in every possible way more intelligent. The islanders export them to the mainland opposite in boats, which they construct expressly for this traffic from wood supplied by the thickets of the island, and they dispose of their cargoes to the King of the Kalingai.”

If the passage is based on Megasthenes,³ it would appear that there had been a sea-borne trade in elephants between Ceylon and Kalinga, at least 150 years before Khāravela. Probably the famous elephants of the King of Kalinga were really Ceylon elephants. The Ceylonese constructed ships *expressly* for the export of their elephants. It seems that these were of the class of “the elephant-ships” of the inscription. The Pāṇḍya country

¹ J.B.O.R.S., Vol. III, p. 458.

² Translated by McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 170.

³ See remarks of Schwanbeck quoted by McCrindle at p. 159, n.

was the next-door neighbour to Ceylon; either the Pāṇdyas also built elephant-ships or they took them from the Ceylonese. The "Elephant-ships" were a familiar sight in Kalinga, but the gift or trophies from the Pāṇḍya king in the twelfth year of Khāravela were "extraordinary and wonderful."

"BHRĪNGĀRAS."

For *bhṛīṅgāra* (*ante* page 445) reference be made to the bas-relief on the Bharhat railings representing the scene of the gift of the Jetavana to the Buddha's Saṅgha. It is reproduced in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India* at page 99. The donor Anātha-piṇḍika is pouring water from a jug, a ceremonial necessary to complete the gift. The vessel is named in the Buddhist canon. In the Vinaya, M. 1.22.18, King Bimbisāra is related to have held the *bhṛīṅgāra* in his hand (to pour water from) when he made a gift of the Veluvana garden to the Buddha's order.

The Bharhat sculpture, which belongs according to the style of the script it bears, to the period of the Hathigumpha inscription, may be taken to represent the *bhṛīṅgāra* style of the time of Khāravela.

The ceremonial *bhṛīṅgāra* was of gold. The Vinaya text referred to above describes it as made of gold, and Amara says that *bhṛīṅgāra* is a gold vessel. Its modern representation is the up-country pretty *Jhāri* or *Gāru* made of silver, used for pouring water on the hand of the bridegroom in Hindu marriage.

"NISIDIYA."

This word, which occurs in lines 14 and 15 of the inscription, comes also in the inscriptions of Aśoka (Pillar Edicts, VII) and his grandson Daśaratha (Nāgārjuni Hill cave inscription), as *nimsidhiyā* and *nishidhiyā* in the sense of a resting-place. The Jains, however, employ *nisidhi* and *nishidhi* to denote ornamental tombs of their saints (figurative use for resting-place).¹ It is difficult to say whether Khāravela uses it in the

¹ E. I., II., 274; I. A., XII. 99.

former sense or the latter when he mentions the *arhat-nisīdiyā*. If it denotes a memorial tomb, it must have been something like the tombs on the Parasnath Hill, and would suggest a widespread practice of raising such monuments.

The existence of a *nisīdiyā* in the "Habitation of Arhat (or Arhats)", and the proximity of the record to the Maurya inscriptions in age, make me incline to take the *Arhat-Nisīdiyā* of Khāravela as an actual resting-place for the Arhats or advanced saints of Jainism.

III.—A Note on the “ Cheta Dynasty of the Hathi-gumpha Inscription.

By J. N. Sikdar, M.A.

The Hāthi-gumpha inscription of which Mr. Jayaswal has published a very illuminating reading in the last issue of this Journal, contains a statement that king Khāra-vela belonged to the *Cheta-Vamśa*, which is equivalent to the Sanskrit *Chaitra-Vamśa*. In the *Devī-māhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* there is mention of a Kshatriya King Suratha, who flourished in the “ *Chaitra-Vamśa* ” and ruled over an empire justly. In course of time, ‘ the destroyers of the Kolās ’ (or Cholās कोला-विध्वंसिनः) became his enemies, at whose hands, powerful though he was (अतिप्रबलदण्डिनः), he suffered defeat and lost his foreign provinces. For sometime he could maintain his rule over the home province (निजदेशाधिपोऽभवत्), but there also he was attacked by the same enemies who finally deprived him of his kingdom. Having thus lost all, the king had to repair to the forest, where he took shelter in the hermitage of the Sage Medhasa. There is no clear indication that he gained back his kingdom and most likely the dynasty ended with him. †

† खारोविध्वंसनरे पूर्वं चेन्नवप्रसमुद्भवः ।
सुरथो नाम राजाऽभूत् समस्तं क्षितिमण्डले ॥ ३ ॥
तस्य पालयतः सम्यक् प्रजाः पुत्रनिवौरसान् ।
बभूवुः प्रभवो भूयाः कोलाविध्वंसिनस्तथा ॥ ४ ॥
तस्य तैरभवद्युद्धमतिप्रबलदण्डिनः ।
न्यनैरपि स तैर्युद्धे कोलाविध्वंसिभिर्जितः ॥ ५ ॥
ततः स्वपरमायातो निज देशाधिपोऽभवत् ।
आक्रान्तः स महाभागस्तु क्षौद्रा प्रबलारिभिः ॥ ६ ॥
अमात्यैर्बलिभिर्दुष्टैर्बलस्य दुरात्मभिः ।
कोषो बलचापहृतस्तत्रापि स्वपुरे ततः ॥ ७ ॥
ततो मृगयायाजने हृतस्त्वान्यः समुपतिः ।
एकाकी हयमारुह्य जगाम गहनं वनम् ॥ ८ ॥

(Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Jibānanda ed., ch. 81.)

According to the Mārkaṇḍeya the Chaitra-vaṃśa was founded by King Chaitra, "son" of Svārochisha (स्वरोचिषः), one of the Manus of the Solar race. The name is, however, not found in the early Solar list. (See J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 26-29). It may therefore be presumed that King Chaitra is to be regarded as a remote descendant of the said Manu of the Solar race and not a direct *Suta*.¹ The Chaitra of the Mārkaṇḍeya must therefore be a Chaitra of the Kali age. It thus becomes highly probable that the dynasty to which Khāra-vela belonged is identical with the dynasty founded by Chaitra of the Mārkaṇḍeya. The identity^c is further supported by the use of the epithet "Aira" before Khāra-vela's name in the inscription which Mr. Jayaswal has already pointed out as representing the *Aila* or Manu dynasty. The neighbourhood of the Kolās or Cholās, the Tāmil people, implied in the Mārkaṇḍeya data, also points to the proposed identity of the Chaitra of the Purāṇa with the Chaitra of the Orissa inscription.

As there is no indication of any reverses sustained by a predecessor of Khāra-vela in his inscription, it is reasonable to assign the date of Suratha to the time after Khāra-vela. It is quite possible that the Sātavāhanas (Andhras) who subjugated at least a part of the Tāmil country and to whom Khāra-vela was inimical, destroyed the empire of the Chaitra dynasty. They grew very powerful within a century after the death of Khāra-vela.

In the Mārkaṇḍeya (Ch. 67) it is stated that the predecessor of Chaitra had seven sons or descendants, who were all rulers of the land¹ (पृथिवीपरिपालका). Most likely, King Suratha was the seventh and the last. The mention in the Mārkaṇḍeya is casual. It is in connection with the worship of the goddess Chandī. He is claimed by the Chandī cult to have been a fellow of Chandī.

¹ In the Sanskrit *Suta* can denote both a son and a descendant.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I.—Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, held on the 16th February 1918, at the Council Chamber of Government House, Patna.

His Honour Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., President, in the Chair.

1. The Annual Report of the Council, printed copies of which were distributed among members, was taken as read.

2. His Honour the President said that owing to press of work, which has been exceptionally heavy of late, he has been unable himself to prepare the usual review of the activities of the Society during the year. The Hon'ble Mr. Walsh, the Vice-President, however, had kindly undertaken the task, and His Honour now called on him to deliver the annual address. This the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh proceeded to do.

3. His Honour then called upon Mahamahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Hara Prasād Shāstri to read his paper, and the Mahamahopādhyāya read a paper on "Sanskrit Gazetteers of Vidyāpati, Jagmohan Paṇḍit, and Rānakavi of Sikharbhum."

After the Mahamahopādhyāya had read the paper His Honour thanked him on behalf of the meeting. His Honour said that ever since the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was founded Paṇḍit Hara Prasād Shāstri had helped in many ways with advice and numerous papers. He has supervised the work of the Paṇḍit who is engaged in cataloguing manuscripts in the Puri district, and he has promised to give similar assistance when the work of cataloguing manuscripts in Tirhut is taken up. The paper which the Paṇḍit had just read was very interesting and

instructive, and it brought to light an entirely new form of Sanskrit literary activity.

The Vice-President stated that under Rule 18, the President, Council, and Office-bearers elected at the meeting held on 20th January 1915, shall hold office for three years, namely, up to December 1917. As that term has now expired the President, Council and Office-bearers have now to be elected for the current year under Rules 19 to 26.

The Vice-President said that, as he had already mentioned in the annual address, Babu S. C. Roy does not wish to be re-elected as General Secretary; as he finds that he needs more time to devote to his Antiquarian and Ethnological researches, which also require his absence from Patna. Mr. S. Sinha also does not wish to stand for re-election as Honorary Treasurer, though he is willing to serve on the Council.

The Council proposes the following list of Office-bearers and Council :—

PRESIDENT.

His Honour Sir Edward Albert Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

VICE-PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S.

GENERAL SECRETARY.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A.

JOINT SECRETARY.

R. W. F. Shaw, Esq., M.A.

TREASURER.

Professor Jogindra Nath Samaddar, B.A.

DEPARTMENTAL SECRETARIES.

Secretaries for History Section—K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, and Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A.

Secretary for Archaeology and Numismatics—The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S.

Secretary for Anthropology and Folk-lore—Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L.

Secretaries for Philology—Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Hara Prasād Shāstri, M.A., C.I.E., and Nawab Shams-ul-'Ulama Saiyid Imdad Imam.

MEMBERS OF SECTION SUB-COMMITTEES. OTHER THAN THE DEPARTMENTAL SECRETARIES.

HISTORY.—Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S.

P. Kennedy, Esq., M.A., B.L.

S. Sinha, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

ARCHÆOLOGY—Dr. D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D.

Principal V. H. Jackson, M.A.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

ANTHROPOLOGY.—His Honour Sir Edward Albert Gait,

K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Hara Prasād

Shāstri, M.A., C.I.E.

PHILOLOGY.—Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., I.C.S.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha,

M.A., D. Litt.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Hara Prasād

Shāstri, M.A., C.I.E.

OTHER MEMBERS OF COUNCIL BESIDES THE PRESIDENT, THE GENERAL SECRETARY AND THE TREASURER.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., I.C.S.

Nawab Shams-ul-'Ulama Saiyid Imdad Imam.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Ali Imam, K.C.S.I.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit H. P. Shāstri, M.A., C.I.E.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, M.A., D. Litt.

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.

Dr. D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Jennings, I.C.S.

Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L.

S. Sinha, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

P. Kennedy, Esq., M.A., B.L.

Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., F.R.S.

The above were unanimously elected.

It was proposed by the Vice-President and seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Oldham and carried unanimously that Rule 34 be amended by substituting the word "February" for "December" for the date of the Annual Meeting.

It was proposed by the Vice-President and seconded by Hon'ble Mr. Jackson and carried unanimously that the figure "7" be omitted from the words "7 Vice-Patrons" in Rule 4.

It was proposed by the Vice-President and seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Oldham and carried unanimously that Sir Dawson Miller be elected a Vice-Patron in place of Sir Edward Chamier who has permanently left India.

It was proposed by the Vice-President and seconded by Professor Samaddar and carried unanimously that Raja Kamaleshwari Prasad Singh be elected a Vice-Patron.

Annual Report of the Council for the year 1917.

THE year under review has been one of steady progress for the Society. There has been an addition of twenty-eight new members during the year, but we have lost three members by death and five by resignation.

The coins and other objects of archæological, ethnological and historical interest collected by the Society have been formally made over to the Provincial Museum, which was constituted during the year. The office of the Society has been transferred from Ranchi to Patnā, where Government have kindly placed at the Society's disposal a few rooms adjoining the Museum rooms in one of the Annexés to the High Court buildings.

MEMBERSHIP.

The total number of ordinary members is now 331. In addition to these we have eight Honorary members and seven Life-members.

PUBLICATIONS.

During the year four issues of the Journal have been published; and the reappears to be an increasing demand for the Journal in learned bodies. Principal Jackson is making progress in editing and preparing for the Press the first volume of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's Journal which deals with the modern districts of Patnā and Gayā, and has now obtained from the India Office a complete copy of the Journal of Shahābād. This publication will be of very great interest. A Paṇḍit has been employed to prepare catalogues of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts in Orissā and 1,740 manuscripts have already been catalogued by him, of which he reports that more than 100 are hitherto unpublished. Steps

are also being taken to appoint another Paṇḍit for similar work in the Bihār districts. Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Hara Prasād Shāstri has very kindly offered to give necessary directions to the Paṇḍits.

MEETINGS.

During the year there were six meetings of the Council for the transaction of the ordinary business of the Society.

The Council regret they have not been able to arrange for any ordinary meeting for the reading of papers during the year, but hope to be able to do so during the current year.

LIBRARY.

Government have generously provided the Society with a library of about one thousand volumes of select books and journals, and a reading room has been fitted up for the use of members. Mr. S. Sinha will, it is expected, shortly make over to the Society the books in his library, on the subjects dealt with by the Society, that he promised to present.

FINANCES.

From the abstract statement of account appended to this report it will be seen that the financial condition of the Society is sound. It is to be regretted, however, that a sum of as much as Rs. 4,265 is still due from members on account of subscriptions.

The cost of publication of the Society's Journal has been Rs. 3,589-12-9 as compared with Rs. 2,526-9-6 last year, an increase of Rs. 1,063-3-3. The chief reason for this is the larger number of plates that have been published and to the fact that all the plates of copper-plate grants found in the Tributary States of Orissā in the Journals for March, June and September 1916, were presented by the Rājā of Sonapur. Of the 22 plates of such grants which appeared in the Journal for December 1916, which is included in the expenditure of the year under report, 5 were presented by the Rājā of Sonapur, but the other 17 plates were paid for by the Society.

The extra cost of paper and materials has also added to the cost of publication as compared with the previous year.

An additional item of expenditure, Rs. 538-11-0, has also been required for furniture for the Society's office and Library which has now been located at Patnā. A further expenditure under this head will be required during the current year for book-cases and other equipment for the Library.

The Council hope that others of the large body of enlightened zamindars, bankers, and professional men in this Province will emulate the generous example of Rājā Kamaleshwari Prasad Singh who helped the Society with a donation of Rs. 5,000 in 1916.

Abstract of Account for 1917 (January to December).

INCOME.				EXPENDITURE.			
		Rs.	a. p.			Rs.	a. p.
(1) Government grant for Anthropological Research ...	...	3,350	0 0	(1) Anthropological Secretary's Allowance for December 1916 and for the year 1917 ...	...	3,500	0 0
(2) Government grant for Journal ...	...	2,000	0 0	(2) Office Expenditure ...	...	754	12 7
(3) Government grant for search of Sanskrit Manuscript ...	...	800	0 0	(3) Pay of Treasurer's Assistant up to July 1917 ...	...	120	0 0
(4) Subscription from members ...	...	1,666	10 6	(4) Cost of printing and despatching Journal ...	...	3,589	12 9
(5) Proceeds of cash sale of Journal ...	...	96	12 0	(5) Furniture ...	...	538	11 0
(3) Donation ...	...	50	0 0	(6) Money advanced to the Patna Museum for freight of 2 cannons from Bhagalpur and some stone images from Manbhum ...	...	61	11 0
(7) Proceeds of sale of furniture of the Ranchi Office ...	...	19	0 0	(7) Travelling Allowance of Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit H. P. Shāstri, C.I.E., from Calcutta to Puri and back ...	...	42	3 0
(8) Receipt from the Patna Museum of money spent in 1916 and 1917 for collection and freight of certain articles for the Museum ...	...	104	6 6	(8) Initial expenses for editing Buchanan Hamilton's Journal ...	...	52	14 0
Total ...	...	8,086	13 0	(9) Charges for advertisement for clerk ...	...	36	0 0
Balance in hand from last year ...	...	7,293	2 6	(10) Bank's commission, price of cheque books and other expenses incurred by Bank ...	...	11	7 0
GRAND TOTAL ...	...	15,379	15 6	Total ...	...	8,707	7 4
				Balance ...	...	6,672	8 2
				GRAND TOTAL ...	...	15,379	15 6

S. SINHA,

*Honorary Treasurer, Bihār and Orissā
Research Society.*

**Minutes of a Meeting of the Council of
the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society, held at the Society's Rooms
on Thursday, the 24th January 1918,
at 4-30 p.m.**

*** PRESENT :**

1. The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S., Vice-President, *in the Chair*.
 2. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., I.C.S.
 3. V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.
 4. S. Sinha, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Treasurer.
 5. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
 6. Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L., Secretary.
 7. Babu J. N. Samaddar, B.A., Joint-Secretary.
1. The Proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
 2. The following members were elected as ordinary members :—
 - (1) Babu Rashbeharilal Mandal, Zamindar, North Bhagalpur via Madhipura.
 - (2) Babu Surya Prosad Mahajan, Sri Mannu Lal's Library, Gaya.
 - (3) Professor Hem Chandra Rai Chaudhuri, B. N. College, Patna.
 - (4) Professor Jotindranath Sikdar, B. N. College, Patna.
 - (5) Professor Subimal Chandra Sirkar, Patna College, Patna.
 - (6) Professor Krishna Bihari Gupta, T. N. Jubilee College, Bhagalpur.
 - (7) Babu Ram Krishna Prosad, Deputy Magistrate, Gaya.

- (8) Mr. W. Rahman, Demonstrator, Patna College, Patna.
- (9) The Hon'ble Justice Sir Ali Imam, K.C.S.I., Patna.
- (10) J. G. Alexander, Esq., A.M.I.C.E., A.M.I., Assistant Sanitary Engineer, New Capital.

3. The annual report for 1917 was considered and passed.

4. The notice of the General Meeting was approved.

5. The Secretary noted that the amount so far spent on the publication of Buchanan Hamilton's Journal is Rs. 474-8-6. Government has made a grant of Rs. 250 as an instalment towards the expenditure.

Resolved, that Government be asked for a further grant to cover the current expenditure.

6. Mr. Jayaswal called attention to Rule 24 which requires the papers submitted for the Journal to be submitted to the Sectional Committee for consideration.

The Secretary stated the circumstances under which this rule has not hitherto been followed.

The Council resolved that the rule should be followed as far as practicable, in future.

7. Principal Jackson called attention to the fact that the late Dr. Burgess's library is for sale by Messrs. Heffer.

Resolved, that the Chairman be authorized to order books up to the value of Rs. 1,000.

8. Resolved, that rule 14 be not enforced in the case of members who are absent on War service. But that the copies of the Journal be not sent to them if their present address is not known.

IV.—Minutes of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Council Chamber, Government House, on Saturday, the 16th February 1918.

PRESENT :

- (1) The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S.,
Vice-President, *in the Chair.*
- (2) The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., I.C.S.
- (3) Mahamahopādhyāya Paṇḍit H. P. Shāstri, M.A., C.I.E.
- (4) V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.
- (5) S. Sinha, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
- (6) K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law.
- (7) Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S.
- (8) Professor J. Samaddar, B.A.
- (9) Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L.

1. The Proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

2. The Council resolved that they should propose to the General Meeting that Raja Kamaleshwari Prasad Singh should be elected a Vice-Patron.

3. Read a Note from His Honour the President regarding the appointment of a Paṇḍit to catalogue Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bihar districts.

Resolved, that Paṇḍit Vishnu Lal Jha Shastri, who has been selected by the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, be appointed from the 1st March on a salary of Rs. 75 per month and travelling allowance at Government rate.

4. The following ordinary members were elected, —

- (1) Tarini Charan Rath, Esq., B.A., District Munsif, Aska, District Ganjam.
- (2) Pandit Mrutyunjaya Rath, Banibhusan Kavyatirth, R. C. School, Cuttack.
- (3) Babu Devaki Prasad, B.A., University Student, Patna College.
- (4) Pandit Syamaji Sarma, Head Pandit, Patna City School.
- (5) Babu 'Madhusudan Das, B.A., Oriya Translator to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, Cuttack.
- (6) R. Shaw, Esq., Registrar, Patna University.
- (7) P. R. Das, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Patna High Court.

NOTICE.

Copies of the article on the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela, by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, are available at the Society's Office. Price, Rs. 2 per copy.

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. IV.]

[PART II.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Sites in Rajgir Associated with Buddha and His Disciples.

By D. N. Sen, M.A.

EVERY hill, dale, ravine or torrent which constitutes the environment of Rājagriha has its sacred associations and is redolent of memories which are so dear to the devout Buddhist. Each sacred spot had a landmark raised by pious hands to commemorate some episode in the life of the Master. These have now either disappeared altogether, or are buried under the earth, or form shapeless mounds, not easy to identify, and the mass of legends which have grown round them, like the luxuriant tropical vegetation which now covers the sites, has made it still more difficult to explore them successfully. Buddha spoke thus to Ananda, not long before the *parinibbāna* :—

“ Delightful, O Ānanda is Rājagaha. Delightful is Gijjhakūṭa mountain. Delightful is Gotama-Nigrodha. Delightful is Chorapapāta. Delightful is Sattapanna Guhā by the side of Vebhāra. Delightful is the black rock by the side of Isigili. Delightful is Sappasondika Pabbhāra in Sitavana. Delightful

is Tapodārāma. Delightful is Kalandāka Nivāpa in Veluvana. Delightful is Jivakambavana. Delightful is the deer forest in Maddakuchchhi." *

Those were the closing days of the Master's long ministry. He knew that the time was at hand when he must bid adieu to this world. His thoughts turned fondly to the various spots in Rājagaha which were so dear to his memory.

In another connection, the same names, as are given in the extract quoted above, occur :

† "Oh, friend Dabba, arrange our residence in Giṃjhakūṭa, our residence in Chora-pipāta, ours at the black rock by the side of Isigili, ours in the Sattapanna Guhā by the side of Vebhāra, ours in the Sappasondika Pabbhāra in Sitavana, ours in the ravine of the Gomati, ours in the ravine of the Tapodā, ‡ ours in the mango grove of Jīvaka, ours in the deer forest in Maddakuchchhi." Pāṇḍavā mountain, Pippala Guhā, Sumāgadhā Pokkharani, Sappinikā river, Paribbājakārāma, Latthivana are some of the other places associated with Tathāgata and his immediate disciples.

Giribbaja, the hill-girt city of Jarāsandha, is often described in Pāli literature as Magadhānam Giribbaja, i.e., the Giribbaja of the people of Magadha, which suggests that there was another Giribbaja in a different part of India. We find in the Rāmāyaṇa that the other Girivraja was the capital of the Kekayas, and lay to the west of the river Vipāsā :

§ "Then when their course so swift and long,
Hail worn their steeds though fleet and strong,
To Girivraja's splendid town,
They came by night, and lighted down."¹

* Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, page 86 (Burmese Edition).

† Vinaya, Vol. III, pages 159-160 (Oldenberg's Edition).

‡ Tapodā—Sanskrit Taptodā, the stream into which the water from the hot springs flowed.—K.P.J.

§ Griffith's Rāmāyaṇa, Canto, LXVII.

¹ Messengers were sent post-haste to the capital of the Kekayas to bring Bhīsmata after the death of Daśaratha and the passage quoted above describes their hurried journey to, and arrival at, the capital.

It is mentioned in the commentary on *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* that Rājagaha had *thirty-two large gates* and sixty-four small ones* “Rājagaha kira dvāttimsa mahādvārāni chatusaṭṭhi khudda dvārāni”. Both in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* Girivraja is described as a flourishing city, with smiling fields and beautiful houses, free from disease, and surrounded by well-wooded mountains. In the *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, Rājagaha is described as a rich and delightfully wooded city ‡ (*Rāmyakānanavane susamiddhe Magadhassa Magadhādhipasya puravare*). Yuan Chwang found Kanakā trees with fragrant, bright golden blossoms on all the paths and in the woods, which imparted to the forests a golden hue in late spring. Hardly a tree can now be seen either on the hills or in the valley in which the old town was situated, due, no doubt, to the ruthless deforestation which has been going on for centuries. A thick growth of tangled, low brushwood is the only thing to be seen all over the valley and on the slopes of the mountains which surround and guard it. The *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions the name of a river which “lay like a garland in the midst of the five great mountains”:

† “Sumāgadadhā nadi ramyā Magadhān viśrutā yayau

Panchānām śailamukhyānāmmadhye māleva śobhate.”

It is very curious that we find a mention, in the *Sanyutta Nikāya*, of a lake of the same name, viz., “Sumāgadadhā Pokkharani”, which was situated outside the walls of Rājagaha: “Bhutaṭṭhaṃ Bhikkhave annatara puriso Rājagahā nikkhamitvā lokachintam chintessāmiti yena Sumāgadadhā Pokkharani tena upasankami. Upasankamitvā Sumāgadadhā Pokkharaniyā tīre nisīdi.” It may be thus rendered into English: “Oh Bhikkhus, in the old days, a person came out of Rājagaha and went to the place where the Sumāgadadhā lake was, in order to think about the people, and after having repaired to the place sat down on the bank of the lake Sumāgadadhā.” There is ample evidence of the existence of an artificial lake in those days

* *Sāmaññaphala Sutta Aṭṭhakathā* (Burmese Edition), page 3.

† *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, Vol. I, page 70 (Paris Edition).

‡ *Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa Balakāṇḍa*, 1st stanza, line 32.

on the site now known as Akhārā. The characteristic alluvial deposit which covers this area is a sure proof of its having been a lake formed by immense bunds which still exist. A river has now cut a way for itself through the bunds and traverses the whole of the western side of the old city. This perhaps was once known as Sumāgadhbā river and the lake was made by damming it up.

In the walled cities in ancient India, there used to be four parts, viz., the inner parts of the King's palace, the outer parts of the King's palace, the inner parts of the city and the outer parts of the city. In *Rajovāda Jātaka*, we are told that Bodhistva thought of finding out his own defects and in order to do this, he tried first to ascertain if there was among those who resided inside the palace, any person who spoke ill of him. Finding none inside the palace, he tried the outer parts, then the inner parts of the city, and after that the outer parts of the city. * "Antovalanjakānāmantare kanchi agunavādim adisvā attano gunakatham eva sutvā, 'Ete mayham bhayenāpi agunam avatvā gunam eva vadeyyun'ti vahivalanjake pariganhanti' tatrāpi adisvā antonagran pariganhi, bahinagare chatusu dvāresu dvārāgāmake pariganhi." It is more than probable that Rājagaha had all these four parts. It is said of Bimbisāra that he had once to stay for some time in the outer city as the gates of the inner city had been closed at evening. In other passages, there is mention of fields† and pastures in the outer city. This makes it almost certain that when the Chinese travellers speak of the "palace city", they mean the palace and its environments.

It is clear from the accounts of Rājagaha which have come down to us through Pāli literature, that the King's palace was built of wood, although stone houses, e.g., the house of Setthi Jyotika, were not unknown. The following passage occurs in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*‡: "aho andhabālo mama

* *Jātaka*, Vol. II, page 2 (Fausbøll).

† *Vimānavatthu*, page 308, Burmese Edition.

‡ *Commentary on Dhammapada*, Vol. IV, page 211, Pāli Text Society.

pitā ; gahapatikā nāma sattaratanamaye pāsāde vasati ; eso rājā hutvā dārumaye gehe vasatiti.” It means : “ Alas, my father (Bimbisāra) is as foolish as a child : a householder lives in a house constructed of seven precious stones, this person, although a king, lives in a house built of wood ”. It is said that Jyotikā’s house was seven stories high. Probably many of the houses in Rājagaha were made of perishable materials. There were many large buildings there, and eighteen big monasteries existed in Rājagaha during Tathāgata’s lifetime.

Mr. Jackson’s “ Notes on Old Rajgriha ”, a valuable contribution on the subject, makes it clear that, in the southern part of the town, there are important ruins. It is on a higher level and broader in extent than the north side, is well protected by high walls, and contains remnants of a strong fort with stone walls apparently of great antiquity. Mr. Jackson says about this fort : * “ It appears to be of great antiquity, and as it lies in the very limited portion of Old Rājgriha, from which Griddhrakūta Hill is visible, it may be of interest in connection with the tradition that when King Bimbisāra was shut in prison by his son Ajātasatru he was able to see Buddha on that hill.” In the commentary on the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, we are told, † “ So pitaram tāpanagehe pakkhipāpesi ” (He caused his father to be thrown into the heating room). “ Tāpana gehe ” is explained as “ dhūmagharam or ‘ smoke-room ’ (fire-room) made for doing some work ”. It is said that Ajātasatru allowed only his mother to enter into the room in which Bimbisāra was confined. The heroic story of the queen who tried and succeeded in keeping the King alive a long time by bringing him food surreptitiously is well known and need not be repeated here. This makes it almost certain that the alleged room of confinement was supposed to be within the palace precincts and that the Vulture Peak was visible from there. This chain of evidence inevitably leads to the conclusion that the high ground round the stone fort was the palace precinct or “ palace city ” of the Chinese travellers.

* Notes on Old Rajgriha, page 209.

† Sāmaññaphala Sutta, Atthakatha, Burmese Edition, page 110.

The only difficulty in this identification is the distance of the palace city from Griddhrakūṭa as recorded by them. But as they speak of the Gijjhakūṭa *mountain* and not particularly the *peak*, this difficulty is not insurmountable. Yuan Chwang locates some buildings of importance in the southern part of the city and states that 'not far from these buildings was the site of the village where the wealthy Setṭhi Jyotika had his stone mansion. There are other reasons for considering the south-eastern part of the city as the most important locality in it. Bigandet in his * "Legend of the Burmese Buddha", says that Tathāgata on his first visit to the city crossed a river and entered it by the eastern gate † and went through the first row of houses receiving alms from pious hands. The King looking from his apartments over the city saw him passing along the road and was much struck by his appearance and sent messengers who traced him to **Pandava mountain** (Ratnagiri) where he was taking his meal. It seems that he came through the Giriyaḥ valley and entered the city by the east gate which was nearest to the most important part of it and contained the King's palace. There was at least one good reason for avoiding the northern approach of the city, as, in the immediate vicinity of it, lay the Sitavana where the people of Rājagaha used to deposit their dead. The most frequented entrances leading into the city appear to have been the eastern and the southern gates. It is also significant that Ratnagiri, which is adjacent to the gates, is called Pāṇḍavā Mountain in the Buddhist scriptures of both the schools. There must have been a tradition connecting this mountain with the Pāṇḍavas who came to Rājagriha disguised as Snātaka Brāhmins and challenged Jarāsandha to a single combat.

In the commentary on the Śamaññaphala Sutta, we are told that, Jīvaka, finding that it was difficult to attend upon Tathāgata twice or thrice daily on account of the great distance of

* Pages 62 to 64.

† Mr. Jackson mentions in his "Notes on Old Rajgriha" (page 268) that the foundations for the columns which supported a bridge at the east gate still exist. I have seen these myself.

Veluvana and Gijjhakūṭa, made a Vihāra for the Master in his own mango park: "Mayā divasassa dvatikkhattum Buddhupatthānam gantabbam. Idancha Gijjhakūṭam Veluvanam atidūre. Mayham pana ambavanam uyyanam āsannataram. Yannunāham ettha Bhagavato Vihāram kāreyanti." (I have to go twice or thrice daily for attending upon Buddha. This Gijjhakūṭa and Veluvana are at a great distance. My mango grove is nearer. Why should I not get a Vihāra made here for the Lord?) Jivaka was the court physician at Rājagaha. In Chivarakkhandaka of Vinaya Pitaka, King Bimbisāra is represented as appointing Jivaka his court physician, his duties being to attend upon the king, the ladies of the palace and the Brotherhood of Monks headed by Buddha: "Tena hi bhane Jivaka mam upatthāhi, itthāgarām, Buddhapamukhancha Samghanti" (Then he said, "Jivaka, attend upon me, the ladies' apartments, and Buddha and his monks".) Jivaka used to live at the time in the house of Prince Abhaya, which must have been close to the royal residence. Veluvana and Gijjhakūṭa were at a great distance from the palace. Consequently, he thought of building a Vihāra for Buddha in his mango grove which was at a shorter distance. Here is additional evidence for placing the king's palace about the spot indicated above.

After this general survey of the old City and its environments, I propose to take up the places of special interest which are associated with Tathāgata and his disciples.

Pandava Mountain.—In Buddhaghosha's Commentary on the Dhammapada, the following passage occurs:¹ "Mahabhinikhamanam nikkhamitvā, Anomānaditire pabbajitvā, anukkamen Rājagaham gantvā, tattha pindāya chartivā Paṇḍavapabbatapabbhāre nisinno Magadharañño rājjena nimantiyamāno tan patikkhipitvā, etc." Here we are told that after having come out from his father's palace and taken to the life of a wandering ascetic on the bank of the river Anomā, Siddhārtha arrived, in due course, at Rājagaha, and having received alms in the city returned to the Paṇḍava mountain where he was visited by the King of

¹ Commentary on Dhammapada, Volume II, pages 85-86 (Pali Text Society).

Magaddha. The Commentray goes on to say that Bimbisāra invited him to share his possessions with him, but could not induce the young prince to accept his proposal. Siddhārtha, however, promised to see Bimbisāra again after attaining Buddhahood. I have already referred above to Bigandet's "Legends of Burmese Buddha", in which it is stated that Buddha entered the city by the east gate and returned again by the same gate to the Pāṇḍava Mountain. This mountain is known at present as *Ratnagiri*.

Latthivana.—The three Kassapas, Uravelakassapa, Gayākassapa and Nadikkassapa, with all the ascetics with matted hair in their train, had accepted Buddha's discipleship, and after delivering the famous sermon at Gayāsisa, known as "Adittapariyaya," Tathāgata started for Rājagaha to keep the promise he had made to Bimbisāra. With an enormous following he begged his way from village to village till he came to the immediate neighbourhood of Rājagaha and stopped in a palm grove in Latthivana, which still bears the same name, "Jet-bian" (Skt. *yashti-vana*).¹ In the Sāriputta Moggalānakathā, Mahākhandaka, Vinaya Pitaka, the following passage occurs: "Atha kho Bhagavā Gayāsise Yathāvirantaṃ viharitvā yena Rājagahaṃ tena chārikam pakkami mahatā Bhikkhusanghena saddhim Bhikhu sahaṃsam sabbeheva purāṇa jātilehi. Atha kho Bhagavā anupubbena chārikam charamāno yena Rājagahaṃ tadvasari. Tatra sudam Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Latthivane Suppatitthe Chetiye". This means:—"After having resided at Gayāsisa as long as it pleased him, he went on his round of begging towards Rājagaha, accompanied by a large number of Bhikkhus,—a thousand Bhikkhus, viz., all the old Jātilas". He arrived, in due course, at Rājagaha, and dwelt there at Suppatittha Chetiya (a bo-tree), in Latthivana. When Bimbisāra came to know of his arrival, he had it proclaimed everywhere in the town that the citizens were to go out in a procession to receive Buddha. Orders were also issued for decorating the city. Followed by an immense crowd of people and a well

¹ 'Yashti-vana' is the Sanskrit form of the Pali "latthi-vana."

appointed retinue, amid the sound of drums and bugles, Bimbisāra went out of the city to meet Buddha. After going as much of the way as was practicable for chariots, he went on foot and presenting himself before Buddha, saluted him, and sat down on one side. Then followed one of Buddha's rousing sermons, at the end of which Bimbisāra invited him to take his meal, next day, at the palace. This was the first public recognition of Buddha. His entry into the city, was a triumphal procession. The Mahāvastu has given a vivid and full description of the reception of Buddha by Bimbisāra at the head of the citizens¹: "Bho bhane amātya, Bhagavato Buddhasya pratyudgamanam gamishyāmi, Rājagriham alankārāpehi, bhadrāni cha yānāni yojāpehi, sarvehi cha Rājagrihakehi Brāhmanagrihapatikēhi, sarvehi cha silpāyatanehi, sarvehi cha śrenihi, 'mayā saha Bhagavato Buddhasya pratyudgamanam gantabyanti." ("O Minister, I shall go out for receiving the Lord Buddha. Decorate Rājagriha, and get ready decent chariots. All the Brāhmins and householders of Rājagriha, artists and guilds are to go with me to receive Lord Buddha.") Again "Atha khalu rāja Śrenyo Bimbisāra bhadrāni yānāni abhiruhitvā Magadhakehi Brāhmaṇa-grīhapatikēhi sārddham dvādaśēhi nṛpūtehi samparibrito mahatā rājaridhiya janakāyasya hakkārahikkāra-bheri-ḍamaru-pañaha-saṅkhasamminādena Rājagṛhato nagarato niryātvā yena antagirismi Yasthivanamudyānam tena prayāsi. Atha khalu rāja Śrenyo Bimbisāra, yānato pratyāruhya padasā yeva yena Bhagvān stenopasamkamitvā Bhagavataspadan śirasā vanditvā ekānte nishidet." This means:—"Then Rāja Śreniyo Bimbisāra, entirely surrounded by twelve-ninety Brāhmins and householders of Magadha, drove out of Rājagaha mounted on noble chariots and with all the pomp and circumstance of a great royal progression, in the midst of a tumultuous uproar made by the great crowd and the collective sound of *bheris*, *mridaṅgas*, *ḍamaras*, *pañahas*, and *saṅkhas* and made for Yasthivana, which lay in the interior of the mountains. Then Rāja Bimbisāra, after having

¹ Mahāvastu, Volume III, pages 441-443 (new Paris Edition).

gone as far as the ground was practicable for chariots, dismounted from his chariot, proceeded on foot to the place where the Lord was, touched the Lord's feet with his head and sat down on one side."

The sermon delivered by Buddha on this occasion aroused great enthusiasm. The King, among others, being forthwith converted, took refuge in Buddha, Saṅgha, and Dharma, and invited the Master to breakfast at the palace. The invitation was accepted in silence, and the next day he entered Rājagaha with one thousand monks. The devout imagination of Buddha's followers has clothed the progress through the city in a beautiful legend, which is related in the Sāriputta Moggalānakathā, Mahākhandaka of the Vināyapīṭaka: "Atha kho Bhagavā pubbanhasamayam nivāsetvā pattachivaram ādāya Rājagaham pavisi mahatā Bhikkhusamghena saddhim, Bhikkhusahassena, sabbeva purāṇa-jatīlehi. Tena kho pana samayena Sakko Devānāmindo mānavaka-vannaṃ abhinimmi-nivā, Buddhapamukhassa Bhikkhusamghassa purato purato gacchati imāgāthāyo gāyamāno." This means:—"The Lord put on his robes and took his bowl in the forenoon and entered Rājagaha with a large congregation of Bhikkhus,—a thousand Bhikkhus including all those who had been formerly ascetics with matted hair. At that time Sakka, the Lord of the Devas, taking the form of a boy preceded the monks with Buddha at their head, and sang this song, etc.". The citizens were profoundly impressed by the prepossessing appearance of the child and were asking one another as to whom the child belonged, when Sakka sang another gāthā, disclosing to them his identity and saying that he was a servitor of Sugata (Buddha)!

Kalandaka-Nivāpa in Veluvana.—This was the first fixed place of residence for Buddha and his disciples. At the end of the meal in the King's palace, to which reference has been made above, Bimbisāra made over Veluvana to Buddha with a solemn ceremony: "Atha kho Rājā Māgadho Senio Bimbisāra sovanamayam bhinkāram gahetvā Bhāgavato onojesi, etāham bhante

¹ Vinaya Pīṭaka, Vol. I, page 39 (Caldenberg).

Veluvanaṃ uyyānaṃ Buddhapaṃkassā Bhikkhusaṃghassa dammiti”: “Patiggaheṣi Bhagavā āraṃaṃ”. This means:—“And then Seniya Bimbisāra, King of the people of Magadha, took a golden water jug and addressed Buddha thus, ‘Reverend sir, I offer the Veluvana garden to the brotherhood of monks with Buddha at their head.’” “The Lord accepted the garden.”

Kalandaku-Nivāpa means the place where squirrels used to come for their food. *Kalandaka* means squirrel and *nivāpa*, grains or cereals used for food. Veluvana was one of the most favourite places of residence of Buddha. A very large number of sermons were delivered there and many rules of Vinaya were laid down in Veluvana, Vihāra. Kings, princes, ministers, wealthy merchants and ordinary householders were received here in audience by Buddha, and streams of men and women with offerings of garlands came to the Vihāra in the evening to listen to the religious discourses of Buddha and his famous disciples. It is clear from the Pāli records that Veluvana Vihāra was at a short distance from the north gate of the city and this is corroborated by Fa Hian’s statement that it was only three hundred paces from the north gate of Rājagriha.

Tapodārama.—In the Sanyutta Nikāya, we have the following:—

“Ekam samayaṃ Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Tapodārāme. Atha kho āyasmā Samiddhi rattiyaṃ pachchusasamayaṃ pachchuṭṭhāya yena Tapodā-tena upasankamī, gātraṇāṃ parisinchitum.” It means:—“Once upon a time, the Lord was residing in Tapodārama at Rājagaha. It so happened that the reverend Samiddhi went at dawn to the place where Tapodā was, for the purpose of bathing.” This āraṃa or garden was on the river Tapodā and hence it was named Tapodārāma. Tapodā was very near Veluvana as the following incident indicates: “Tena samayena Buddha Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Veluvane Kalandaka-Nivāpe. Tena kho pana samayena Rājā Māgadho Seniya Bimbisāro sīsama nhāyissāmiti, Tapodam gantvā, yāvā ayyā nhāyantīti ekamantaṃ patināmesi. Bhikkhu yāvā samandhkārā nhāyimsu. Atha kho

¹ Vinaya, Vol. IV, pages 16-17 (Oldenberg).

Rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāra vikāle sīsaṃ nhāyitvā nagara-dvāre thakkite bahinagare vasitvā kālassa eva, asambhinnena vilepanena yena Bhagavā tena upasankamitvā Bhagavanantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisidi. ” This means :—“ Lord Buddha was then staying at Kalanadaka Nivāpā in Veluvana. At that time, Seniya Bimbisāra, Rājā of Magadha repaired to Tapodā to *bathe his head, and respectfully waited aside as long as the Aryas (Bhikkhus) continued bathing. The Bhikkhus continued to bathe till dark. Seniya Bimbisāra, King of Magadha, bathed his head at a late hour, and finding the city gate closed, stopped outside the city, and when the right time arrived, with his body anointed all over, went to the place, where the Lord was, and having saluted him, sat down on one side. ” It is clear from these extracts that the Tapodā river was not far from the city gate and that Veluvana was close to the river. Moggalāna once spoke about Tapodā thus :—† “ Yat yam āvuso Tapodā sandati so daho achchhodako, sitodako, sātodako, setodako, supatittho, ramanīyo, pahutamachchhakacchapo, chakkamattāni cha padumāni cha pupphanti, aha cha panāyam Tapodā kuṭṭhitā sandatīti. ” This means :—“ Oh friends, Tapodā, which is flowing by, is deep, transparent, cool, tranquil, bright-watered, with good landing places, full of fish and tortoise, and has circular lotuses in bloom, but Tapodā flows shrinkingly. ” Moggalāna was a mystic and sometimes talked in a way which his brother Bhikkhus could not understand and to which they, at times, took serious objection. They complained to the Master that Moggalāna was wrong in saying that Tapodā was ‘ flowing shrinkingly. ’ Buddha explained to them that as Tapodā flowed through two great “ hells ”, Moggalāna characterized its flow as ‘ shrinking ’ or painful. This reference to two “ great hells ” is significant, as there are hot-springs on both sides of the river now known as Saraswati. ‡ Hot springs were supposed to be connected with the lake Anotatta and it was believed that the water was

* Bathing the head means taking a complete bath.

† Vinaya, Vol. III, page 108 (Oldenberg).

‡ Tapodā itself signifies one ‘ of hot-waters ’.—Ed.

made hot, during their subterranean course, by the fire of hell. Tapodā is, therefore, the same river as Saraswati which flows out from the Rajagaha valley through the gorge between the Vebhāra and Vipula hills, and on its north bank can still be seen mounds marking the ruins of former buildings, perhaps some Vihāra which was raised on the spot where the ārāma was situated in Buddha's days.

Pippala Guhā.—This was the place where Mahākāssapa used to live. He was the president of the first Buddhist Council. The following passage occurs in the Sanyutta Nikaya : * “ Ekam Samayaṃ Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Veluvane Kalandaka Nivāpe. Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Mahākassapo Pippala Guhāyaṃ viharati abādhiko dukkhito bālhagilāno. Atha kho Bhagavā sāyāha samayaṃ patisall ānā butthito yena Mahākassapa tena upasamkami.” This means :— “ Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Rājagaha in Kalandaka Nivāpa, Veluvana. At that time the reverend Kassapa was lying in Pippala Guhā in great mental and bodily suffering. And the Lord after rising from solitary meditation in the afternoon, repaired to the place where Mahākassapa was.” I have found another reference to Pippala Guhā in the commentary on the Dhammapada which runs thus :—† “ Āyasmā-hi Mahākassapa Pippali Guhāyaṃ viharanto jhānaṃ sampajjitvā sattame divase utthāya dibbena cakkhunā Bhikkhācaraṭṭhānam olokento, etc.” It is related here that Mahākāssapa, who was residing in Pippali Guhā, went into ecstatic meditation and awoke on the seventh day, etc. Pippala cave must have been close to Veluvana as Buddha went to see Mahākāssapa in the afternoon and, it may be presumed, returned from his visit to Veluvana the same evening. Fa Hian corroborates this : ‡ “ Striking the southern hill (I take it to be the Vebhāra) and proceeding westward 300 paces, there is a stone cell called Pippala cave where

* Sanyutta Nikaya, Vol. III, page 54 (Pali Text Society).

† Commentary on Dhammapada, Vol. I, Part II, page 427. (Pali Text Society.)

‡ B. B. W., page LVIII.

Buddha was accustomed to sit in meditation after his midday meal." Yuang Chwang also says "to the west of the hot springs is the Pippala stone house." West of the hot springs which lie at the foot of mount Vaibhāra, there is a stone structure with cells in it which marks the site of Pippala cave. It is a prominent feature of the view as seen from the eminence to the south of the Dāk Bungalow. There was a natural cavern behind the stone house.

Sattapanni Guhā.—The Dipavamsa * tells us that the first "saṃgaha" or collection took place at the gate of the Sattapanna Guhā in Giribbaja of the people of Magadha: "Sattapanna Guhādvare Magadhānam Giribbaje." In the Mahāvamsa we are also told: † "He with all speed had a splendid hall built by the side of the Vebhāra rock at the entrance of the Sattapanni grotto (and it was) like the assembly hall of the gods. When it was adorned in every way, he caused precious mats to be spread according to the number of the Bhikkhus. Placed on the south side and facing the north a lofty and noble seat was prepared for the therā, and in the middle of the hall a high seat was prepared for the preacher facing the east and worthy of the blessed (Buddha) himself." It is thus described in the commentary on the Brahmajāla Sutta: ‡ "Añāpatha bhante kim karomiti." "Saṃgahaṃ karon-tānaṃ bhikkhunaṃ sannisaṃjjanatthanaṃ Mahārājāti." "Kaththa karomi bhante," etc. "Vebharapabbatapasse Sattapanni Guhā dvāre kātuṃ Māhārājāti." "Sādhu bhante ti" kho Rājā Ajātasattu. This means:—"Reverend sirs, order me what I should do." "Mahārāja, prepare a resting-place for the Bhikkhus who will collect the texts." "Reverend sirs, where should this be done?" "Mahārāja, it should be done at the entrance of Sattapanni Guhā by the side of the Vebhāra." "All right, Reverend sirs," said Rājā Ajātasattu. The annotator goes on to say, the splendid pavilion (māhāmandapa) was erected at the door of the cave and 500 costly "pachchaththaranas" (mats or carpets) were

* Dipavamsa, page 34 (Oldenberg).

† Mahāvamsa, page 16 (Geiger).

‡ Brahmajāla Suttaṃ Attha kathā, Nidānakathā, page 9 (Burmese Edition).

spread for the Bhikkhus to sit on. On the south and facing the north was placed a seat for the therā (Mahākassapa) and another in the centre of the pavilion and facing the east for the expounder of the law. This seat was occupied successively by Upāli who recited the Vinaya, and Ānanda who recited the Dhamma. It is difficult to say how one of the Chinese travellers (Fā Hian) came to think that one of these seats was for Sāriputta and the other for Moggallāna, as both of them died during Buddha's lifetime. Yuan Chwang has committed another mistake in stating that at the first council "999 great Arhats" assembled for collecting the texts. The Mahāvastu Avadāna speaks still more definitely about the site of the Council.

* "Ramyā kānana-vane susamṛidhe
Magadhasya Magadhāhipatisya,
Purvare bhavatu Rājagṛhasmin,
Saptaparṇa-abhidhāna-guhāyām,
Parbatasya Vaiharavarasya,
Uttarasmī tire varapārsve,
Vividha-pādape-silātalebhumer
Bhāge yam bhavatu dharmasamāsyā."

It may be rendered into English as follows :—

"Let this collection of religious texts take place on the well-wooded ground under the rocks, on the beautiful northern side of Mount Vaibhāra, at the cave called Saptaparṇa, in Rājagṛha, the best of cities, belonging to the people and king of Magadha, which is wealthy and adorned with pleasant forests." Yuan Chwang tells us that "to the south-west of the bamboo garden (Venuvana) about 5 or 6 li, on the north side of the southern mountain, is a great bamboo forest. In the middle of it is a large stone house. Here the venerable Kasyapa with 999 great Arhats, after Tathāgata's Nirvāṇa, called a convocation (for the purpose of settling) the three Piṭakas. Before it is the old foundation wall. King Ajātasatru made this hall for the sake of accommodating the great Arhats who assembled to settle the Dharma-piṭaka." Fa Hian also places the cave at a distance

of about a mile from the Pippala Guhā and to the west of it. Sir John Marshall in his article on Rājagriha in A. S. R. (1905—6) says :— “ Walking along the north face of Baibhāragiri from the Pippala House towards the west, there is no sign, on the steep hillside of any accessible plateau on which room could possibly be found for such a building (Stone House); but at a distance of a little over a mile corresponding to the ‘ 5 or 6 li ’ of the Chinese travellers the hill puts out a small spur. This spur was covered with jungle when I first visited it, but it was easy to see that the top had been artificially built up and levelled, that broad ramps had been made on each side to give approach to it and that there were remains of massive walls around the edge of the plateau.” The Mahāvastu agrees with Sir John in placing the Sattapaṇṇi cave at the foot of Mount Vaibhara on its north side. The site discovered by Sir John is possibly the place where the mahā-maṇḍapa was built, but we cannot be absolutely sure about the locality until the cave itself is found.

Gijjhakūta.—There are few places renowned in Buddhist history round which so much devout feeling has grown up as it has round this mountain. Gijjhakūta was one of the most favourite places where Buddha used to dwell and preach. It was at this place that, at the instance of King Birbisāra, the Master instituted the ceremony of Uposatha, and also the Buddhist confessional. In Uposathakhandhaka of the Vinaya, the following passage occurs :—“ Tena sameyena Buddho Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Gijjhakūte pabbate. Tena kho pana samayena annatitthiyā paribbājakā chātuddase pannarase aṭṭhamiyā cha pakkhassa sannipātītvā dhammam bhāsati. Te manussā upasankamanti dhammasavanāya. Te labhanti annatitthiyesu paribbājakesu pemaṃ, labhanti pasādaṃ, labhanti annatitthiyā paribbājakā pakkham. Atha kho rañño Māgadhasa Seniyassa Bimbisārassa rahogatassa patisallinassa evaṃ chetaso parivitaṅko udapādi : ‘ Etarahi annatitthiyā paribbājakā chātuddase, pannarase, aṭṭhamiyā cha pakkhassa sannipātītvā dhammam bhāsati. Te manussā pakkham, etc. Yannunāhaṇaṃ, ayyāpi chātuddase, pannarase, aṭṭhamiyā cha pak-

khassa sannipāteyunti." It may be thus rendered into English :—
 " Lord Buddha was then residing on the Gijjhakūta in Rājagaha. At that time the wandering ascetics of other sects used to invite their congregations for religious discourses on the 14th, 15th and 8th days of the month. These people used to come for listening to the discourses. They received kindness and favour from the wandering ascetics of the other sects, and the ascetics gained followers. Once when Seniya Bimbisāra, King of the people of Magadha, was alone and engaged in meditation, these thoughts arose in his mind : "These wandering ascetics of other sects invite their congregations on the *14th, 15th and 8th days and have religious discourses with them. These men come for listening to sermons. They receive kindness and favour from the wandering ascetics of other sects followers Why should not the āryas (Bhikkhus) also invite their followers on the 14th, 15th and 8th of a fortnight ?" Bimbisāra suggested to Buddha the institution of special gatherings for religious discourses, and Buddha gladly accepted his suggestion. These meetings were at first meant for the benefit of lay members, but afterwards, on the Uposatha days, the Bhikkhus also had their own meetings, at which they confessed their transgressions before the assembled brotherhood.

It is not difficult to identify the Gijjhakūta Pabbata as the landmarks are sufficiently clear to justify an identification. Sir John Marshall has identified the Gijjhakūta mountain with Chattagiri. The road which king Bimbisāra is said to have constructed for getting access to it still exists, and the foundation of the stupas built on this road, of which Yuan Chwang speaks, can still be seen as one ascends the hill along the old road. On the summit of the hill there is a stupa.

Chōra-papāta :—*Chōra-papāta* means, literally, " Robber Precipice," i.e., the precipice from which robbers were hurled down for an offence punishable with death. It is explained in the commentary on the Dhammapada that people used to climb the

* The day before the new moon, the full moon and the two *sāḥasvīs* (8th days).

hill along one of its sides and that the other side had fallen off. Robbers were hurled down from the top of the mountain on this side, and they would fall to the ground, torn to pieces. *("Tassa hi ekena passena manussā abhiruhanti, ekaṃ passan chhinnatāṇaṃ, pabbatamattake ṭhita, tena passena chōre pātentī te khandākhandaṃ hutvā bhumiyaṃ patanti.") Yuan Chwang says :—"There is a brick vihāra on the borders of a steep precipice at the western end of the mountain. It is high and wide and beautifully constructed. The door opens to the east. Here Tathāgata often stopped in old days and preached the law. There is now a figure of him preaching the law, of the same size as life." There can be little doubt that this precipice was the Chōra-papāta mentioned in the † passage of Mahāparinibbānasutta quoted above. There are still remains of the vihāra on the top of the precipice and our exploring party verified the description given by the Chinese traveller. The place commands a fine view of the hills and the valley below. It is a pity the life-size image was removed from the site by a former explorer.

Kālasilā.—'The black rock' by the side of Isigili mountain is one of the places mentioned in Buddha's conversation with Ānanda, which has been quoted above. It was also the place where Mahāmoggallāna, one of the two chief disciples of Buddha (Agga-sāvaka-yugā), used to live and where he is said to have attained martyrdom.‡ The naked ascetics, who lived near Rājagriha, were extremely jealous of Buddha and his monks, and made a determined attempt to reduce his influence, it is said, by killing Mahāmoggallāna with the help of hired ruffians. They came in large numbers, surrounded Kālasilā, and after several unsuccessful attempts, ultimately succeeded in catching him. They beat him severely and left him for dead. Moggallāna died soon after, after bidding a touching farewell to his Master. The following passage occurs in the commentary on

* Commentary on Dhammapada, Volume II, page 221 (Pāli Text Society).

† Mahāparinibbānasutta, page 86 (Burmese Edition).

‡ Commentary on Dhammapada, Volume III, page 66 (Pāli Text Society).

Dhammapada]: "Mahāmoggallāna thero nāma Kālasilāyam vasati tattha gantva māretha, etc., tesaṃ, kaṭṭhapaṇasū." This means: "Mahāmoggallāna thero lived at Kālasilā, go there and kill him, so saying (they) gave them Karshāpanas". Where was Kālasilā? Isigili mountain is supposed to be the same as the modern Sonagiri. The Sanskrit equivalent of Isigili is Rishigiri, and this name occurs among the names of the mountains of Girivraja mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. Vaihāra being Vebhāra, Vipula Vepulla; Ratnagiri, Pāṇḍava; Grijjhakūto, Chattagiri; the remaining mountain, viz., Sonagiri must be Rishigiri. *Kālasilā* literally means black rock. There is an old road leading to the Balgāṅgā opening where the scenery is charming and which is just the place one would choose for rest and silent meditation. There is a small picturesque fall which sends down its waters over stone shelves down to a deep cistern round which the natural rock arranges itself into tiers of steps. It is very likely that Kālasilā was near this place, as not far from it can still be seen a mound marking perhaps a place where once a stupa stood. There is also a site to the east of Rishigiri where a sloping way leads up to a flat space on the hillside just outside the south wall of the city. It is said there was a large tree near Kālasilā, viz., Kālasilātabi, under which Buddha and his followers practised meditation.

Sappa-Sondika-Pabbhara in Sītavana :—The "Cold Forest" lay to the north of Rājagaha and is now almost wholly occupied by the ruins of new Rājagaha. As there is no hill or mountain in this area, the Pabbhāra (*Prāgbhāra* slope or top of a mountain) must mean the slope of mount Vipula. It is related of one of the disciples of Buddha that he hurt his feet badly by continuous walking while practising penance in Sītavana, so that the place looked like a slaughter-house for cattle (*gavāghātanam*). I think the story of blood-mark on a piece of stone near Devadatta's cave, marking the site where a Bhikhu tried to commit suicide, is only a faint echo of the older account found in the Suttas. Both as regards distance and situation as mentioned in the Chinese accounts the place now known as Makdum Shāh's Dargā, with

its cave and stone terrace for open-air exercise, on which a dark red stain is still pointed out, corresponds with Sappa-Soundika Pabbhāra.

Jivakambavanam:—It was a beautiful moon-lit night. Ajātasattu was sitting on the terrace of his palace surrounded by ministers and courtiers. But the patricide king had no peace of mind. He was anxious to see a holy man who could minister unto his troubled spirit. The courtiers suggested the names of some of the most famous hermits who lived in the immediate neighbourhood of Rājgaha. Jivaka, the great court physician, mentioned the name of Tathāgata, who was then living in the Vihāra, which Jivaka had built for him in his mango grove. Ajātasattu accepted his suggestion and asked him to get elephants ready to carry him and his female guards to Jivaka's mango grove. The Sāmaññaphalasutta says:—

* "Atho kho Rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedchiputto panchasu hatthiniyāsatesu pachehekā itthio aropetvā ukkāsu dhāriyamānāsu Rājagahato niyyāsi mahachchā rājānubhavena. Yena Jivakassa komara-bhachchassa ambavanam tena pāyāsi." This means:—"Then Ajātasattu, son of the lady of Videha, king of Magadha, made each woman, holding a torch in her hand, mount one of the 500 female elephants, and went out of Rājagaha with great pomp befitting a king. He proceeded towards the place where Jivaka's mango grove was."

In the Atthakathā it is mentioned that the mango grove of Jivaka was between the walls of Rājagaha and Gijjhakūṭo, and also that Ajātasattu went out by the East Gate and entered into the shade of the mountain. The moon was obscured by the crest of the hill, and there was darkness on account of the shadow of the mountain and of the trees. "Jivakassa ambavanam pakārassa cha Gijjhakūṭassa cha antarā hoti. So pāchinakdvārena nikkhamitvā pabbatachchāyāya pābisi. Tattha pabbatakūtena chando chhādito. Pabbatachchāyāya cha rukkhachehhāyāya cha andhakāram ahositi." The darkness was so great and the place was so lonely that Ajātasattu was filled with fear lest

there be some plot against his life. Jivaka reassured him and pointed out to him the lights which were burning in Buddha's audience hall (maṇḍalamāle). The party got down from the elephants when they found that the ground was impracticable for them, and went on foot to the Vihāra where Buddha was sitting in the midst of his Bhikkhus. The description given above puts it beyond doubt that Jivakabavana was on the way to Gijjhakūta from the eastern gate of the City and outside its walls.

In Yuan Chwang's account, the following description occurs: "Again to the north-east of the great ditch, in a corner of the mountain city is a stupa; this is the place where the great physician, Jivaka, built a preaching hall for Buddha. By the side of it is the old home of Jivaka, still visible". As the Sāmaññaphala Sutta tells us that Ajātasattu had to go out of the city in order to see Buddha, who was staying in the mango grove of Jivaka, it is clear that the Ambavana was not in a 'corner of the mountain city', if by 'Mountain city' is meant the space enclosed within the walls of Rājagaha, a good part of which still exists. The Sāmaññaphala Sutta is contained in the Digha-nikāya and is of great antiquity, and its evidential value is very much greater than the accounts of the Chinese travellers, the earliest of whom came to India about a thousand years after the death of Buddha. The Chinese travellers had to depend chiefly upon local traditions, which had become overgrown with legend, and led them into inaccuracies, such as in the account which they have given of the first Council. By a curious mistake, Ambavana has been, in one of the Chinese accounts, transformed into Ambapālavana. Ambapālī belonged to Vaisālī, whereas the mango grove of Jivaka was at Rājagaha. In the Aṭṭhakathā of Sāmaññaphala Sutta the mango grove is placed on the way to Gijjhakūta between the walls of the city and the mountain. Perhaps the garden of Jivaka was situated north-east of the ditch, and of the East Gate, and at the point where the outer bund meets the Ratnagiri (Pāṇḍavā) hill.

. There is further evidence in the commentary on the Dham-

mapada which shows that the Ambavana was situated not very far from the Gijjhakūṭa mountain and *outside the walls of the city*. “Ekasmin pana samaye Devadatto Ajātasattunā saddhin ekato hutvā Gijjhakūṭaṃ abhiruhitvā paduttachittā Satthāraṇa badhissāmi ti silaṇa pabijjhi. Taṇ dve pabbatakūṭaṇi patichchinsu. Tato bhijjitvā gatā papatikā Bhagavato pāḍaṇa abhihaṇitvā lohitaṇa uppādesi, bhussā vedanā pabattinsu. Bikkhu Satthāraṇa Maddakucchhiṇa nayinsu. Satthā tato pi Jivakambavanam gantukamo tattha maṇa nethā ti āhā. Bhikkhu Bhagayantaṇa āḍaya Jivakambavanam agamansu. Jivaka taṇ pavattin sutvā Satthusantikaṇa gantvā vana-patikammāththāya tikkhāṇa bhesajjaṇa datvā vanaṇa bandhitvā Satthāraṇa etad avoca ‘Bhante mayā antonagare ekassa maṇussassa bhesajjaṇa kattaṇa, tassa santikaṇa gantvā āgamiṇissāmi. Idaṇa bhesajjaṇa yāva maṇāgamaṇa baddhaniyamaṇa eva tiṭṭhatu’ ti. So gantvā tassa purisassa kattaṇa bakkichchana katvā dvārapadahanavelāya āgachchhanta dvāraṇa na sampāpuni”. It may be thus rendered into English: “Once upon a time Devadatta, in collusion with Ajātasattu mounted the Gijjhakūṭa hill, and with the wicked intention of killing the Master, rolled down a boulder. It was stopped by two mountain peaks and broke into pieces. One of the broken pieces struck the Lord’s foot and made it bleed. It produced very great pain. The Bhikkhus had him carried to Maddakucchhi. The Master, desiring to go from that place also, to Jivakambavanam, said, ‘Take me to that place’. The Bhikkhus taking up the Master brought him to Jivakambavana. On hearing this Jivaka went to the Master, and with a view to cure the wound, applied a powerful medicine to it and having bandaged it, said to the Master, ‘Reverend Sir, I have under my treatment a man in the city. I shall come back again after visiting him. Meanwhile let this medicine remain in the bandage until my return’. He went, and after doing what was necessary for the man, could not reach the city gate at the time when it was to be closed.” From the extract given above it is clear that Jivakambavana was outside the city and somewhere between

the city and the Gijjhakūṭa hill. Maddakuchchhi* was, it appears, immediately at the foot of the mountain. A Migadāya or deer forest is associated with this low valley and it was one of Buddha's favourite places of residence. Buddha was first taken to the valley below Gijjhakūṭa after the accident, and thence to Jivaka's ambavana where he could be most conveniently attended to by the great physician.

The following account of the Ambavana-Vihāra is given in the commentary on the Sāmaññaphala Sutta† :—

“ So tasmin ambavaṇe rattitṭhāna—divatṭhāna—lena-kuti—mandapādini sampādetva, Bhagavato anuchchhavikam gandha-kutin kārapetvā, ambavanam aṭṭhārasa-hatthubbedhena tambapatta-vannena pākārena varikhipāpetvā, Buddha pamukhassa Bhikku-saṃghassa civara-bhattenā santappetvā dakhinnodakam pādetva vihāram niyyātesi.” This means :—“ After having made places of rest for the day and the night, retreats, closets, pavilions and a perfumed sanctuary worthy of the Lord, and surrounded the mango grove with a wall which was eighteen cubits high and of the colour of copper plate, he entertained Buddha and the Bikkhus at a feast, and gave them pieces of cloth, after which he solemnly made over the mango grove to them, pouring water in ratification of the donation ”.

* Maddakuchchhi literally, ‘ soft belly ’ (madda being a derivative of *mrdu*), perhaps means a hollow in the valley with soft alluvial soil overgrown with luxuriant vegetation and a favourite haunt of antelopes.

† Sāmaññaphala Suttassa Aṭṭhakathā, page 107 (Burmese Edition).

II.—Buddhism and Vedantism : A Parallel.

By D. N. Sen, M.A.

I.

It is a puzzle that a religion like Buddhism, which, in its earlier and purer form, did not inculcate either prayer or worship could grow upon Indian soil. As prayer and supplication are considered to be the very essence of religious doctrine and ritual, how could India, which is supposed to be essentially a religious country, evolve a faith which does not consider this phase of religion to be of vital importance ?

There comes a time in the life of every race, as it does in the life of every thoughtful person, when it is felt that the ordinary interpretation of the world we live in, and the standard of values by which we estimate the ends or ideals we pursue in life, should be revised and reconstructed. We find clear indications of such a movement of thought in the Upanishads.

In the famous discourse which Yajnavalkya delivered to Maitreyi on the eve of his retirement from the world, we have the following :—

“सा हो वाच मैत्रेयो यन्नु इयं भगोः सर्वा पृथिवी वित्तेन पूर्णा स्यात्स्यां न्वहं तं गच्छताऽऽहो ३ नेति नेति हो वाच याज्ञवल्क्यो यद्येवो पश्यस्वतां जीवितं तद्येव तं जीवितं स्यादन्ततस्तस्य तु ना श्राद्धि वित्तेनेति । सा हो वाच मैत्रेयो येनाहं गच्छता स्यां किमहं तेन कुर्यां यदेव भगवान्त्वत्प तदेव मे विद्म होति ।”

She (Maitreyi) replied, “ Lord, if all the earth full of wealth were mine, through it shall I become deathless ? ” Yajnavalkya said, “ No, no, your life will be like the lives of persons who

have wealth. Wealth, on the other hand, destroys deathlessness." She (Maitreyī) said, "What shall I do with that which cannot make me deathless? Lord, tell me all that you know about it."

So, in the Upanishads, they sought for deathlessness, for *Amritatram*. They asked for something that would place them beyond the power of death.

In the Chhândogya Upanishad, the question is asked as to what is happiness (सुखं)? The reply is as follows:

"यो वै + भूमा तत् सुखं, नाप्ये सुखमस्ति, भूमैव सुखं, भूमान्वेव विविक्षावितत्य इति भूमाम् भगवा विजिज्ञास इति ।"

"That which is Great is joy, there is no joy in the Little. The Great alone is joy, therefore, ask about the Great."

"Respectful Sir, I ask about the Great."

"जो अश्वमिह महिमेत्याचक्षते हस्तिहिरण्यं दासभार्यं चेजाण्या-
तनाजीति । नाहमेव व्रवीमि ।"

"Here people call kine and horses Greatness,—elephants and gold, slaves and wives, fields and houses. I do not say so, I do not say so."

They anxiously enquired as to what true happiness was. They had found that it did not consist in possessing the good things of the world.

The Kathopanishad tries thus to answer the question:

"तदेतदिति मन्यन्तेऽनिर्देश्यन्परमं सुखम् । कथम्, तद्विजानीषां किमु
आति विभाति वा । न तत्र सूर्यो भाति न चन्द्रतारकमे मा विद्यतो
भाति कुतोऽयमग्निः । तमेव मान्तमनुभाति सर्वमिदं विभाति ।"

"It is this that is considered to be Ineffable, Supreme Bliss. Oh, how should we know it, does it shine or manifest itself? The sun does not shine there, nor do the moon and the stars, there the lightning does not spread its rays, nor has the fire any place there. All things shine by His light, His rays make all this manifest."

+ Śaṅkara says: "अतस्त्वस्मिन्नप्ये सुखं नास्ति, अप्यस्याधिभूतम् ।
हेतुत्वात् । तस्या च दुःखबोधम् । न हि दुःखबोधं सुखं इदं ज्ञाति
योगे । तस्माद्यत् नाप्ये सुखम् । अतो भूमैव सुखम् ।"

They sought the Ineffable Supreme Bliss which lay beyond this world of the sun, moon and stars, fire and lightning. The same thought finds expression in another form in the *Praśnopanishad* :—

“स यथेमा नद्यः स्यन्दमानाः समुद्रायणाः समुद्रं प्राप्यस्तं गच्छन्ति भिद्येते तासां नामरूपे समुद्र इत्येवं प्रोच्यते । सर्वसावाख्य परिद्रष्टुरिमाः षोडश कलाः पुरुषायणाः पुरुषं प्राप्यस्तं गच्छन्ति भिद्येते तासां नामरूपे पुरुष इत्येवं प्रोच्यते स सवो अकलोऽमृतो भवति । ”

“Just as these rivers, as they flow on towards the sea, disappear as they find the sea, their names and forms are destroyed and they are spoken of as the sea ; so it is with the perfect seer whose 16 kalās (phases), as they approach the Purusha (the Self), on reaching the Purusha (the Self), lose themselves, their names and forms are destroyed and they are spoken of as the Purusha (the Self), and he becomes *phase-less* and *deathless*.”

They sought that which was beyond name and form, and into which all things ultimately proceed and lose themselves and become deathless. The Bliss and the Reality which they enquired about, they found to be *Transcendental*.

The *Māṇḍukya Upanishad* speaks thus of the fourth state of the *Ātman* :

“नास्तःप्रज्ञं न वहिःप्रज्ञं नोभयप्रज्ञं न प्रज्ञानघनं न प्रज्ञं नाप्रज्ञं । ”

“It has neither inner consciousness, nor outer consciousness, nor a combination of both, nor a condensed consciousness, neither consciousness nor not-consciousness.”

They finally aimed at attaining a state of *Consciousness* which was *Transcendental*.

Their ultimate goal was the *Self* which is described as below in the *Chhandogya Upanishad* :

“य आत्माऽपहृतपाप्मा विजरी विन्दत्य विंशोक्तोऽविजिघत्सोऽपिपासः सत्यकामः सत्यसङ्कल्पः सोऽन्विषुयः सविजिघत्सितयः । ”

“The Self who is sinless, not subject to *decay*, *death*, *sorrow*, *hunger* and *thirst*, whose desires and resolutions are right,—He is to be sought, He is to be asked about.”

II

Let us now consider what was the interpretation of life according to Buddha and what was the ultimate object to attain which he and his followers laboured.

These are the first words which Tathāgata addressed to the five Bhikkhus in the Deer Park at Benares :

“*Ādāhatha Bhikkhave sōtam. Amata-madhi-gatam.*”

“O Bhikkhus, listen. I have found *amatam*, i.e., the drink which makes one deathless.”

This was the cheerful gospel of great hope which Buddha preached. There is no fear like the fear of destruction and no joy like the joy which the assurance of immortality brings to man.

In the four “noble truths” which Buddha preached to the five Bhikkhus, in his first famous sermon, he explains how life is misery and how the misery can be removed :

(a) “*Dukkham ariyasaccam : jāti pi dukkhā, jarāpi dukkhā, byādhipi dukkhā, maranampi dukkham.*”

“Misery is a noble truth : birth is misery, decay is misery, disease is misery, death also is misery.”

(b) “*Dukkha-samudayam ariyasaccam. Yāyam tanhā ponobhavikā nandirāga saha-gatā tatra tatrābhinandini : seyyathidam kāmātanhā, bhava-tanhā, bibhavatanhā.*”

“The origination of misery is a noble truth. It is desire which causes rebirth, which is accompanied by pleasure in and attachment to things, and which takes delight in various objects, e.g., the desire for objects of sense, desire for life, desire for wealth.”

(c) “*Idam kho Bhikkhave Dukkhanirodham ariya saccam : Yo tassā eva tanhāya asesa virāganirodho, cāgo, paṭinisaḡgo, mutti, anālayo.*”

“O Bhikkhus the suppression of misery is a noble truth ; the suppression of desire through freedom from various kinds of attachment, renunciation, deliverance, emancipation, freedom from attachment.”

(d) "Idam kho Bhikkave Dukkha-nirodha-gāmini-paṭipadā ariya-saccam : Ayameva ariyo aṭṭhangiko maggo : seyyathidam Sammāditthi, Sammā-sankappo, Sammā-vācā, Sammā-kammanto, Sammā-aṇiyo, Sammā-vāyāmo, Sammā-sati, Samma-samādhī."

"The steps which lead to the suppression of Dukkha (misery) are noble truths : these constitute the noble eightfold path : as such Right View, Right Resolve, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Living, Right Endeavour, Right Recollection, Right Contemplation."

How is this intense dissatisfaction with life and all that pertains to it to be explained? Buddha throws further light upon this view of life in another sermon which he delivered to the five Bhikkhus at Benares :—

(a) "Rūpam Bhikkhave anattā."

"O Bhikkhus, rūpa (all objects seen and other objects of sense) is without a self or substratum."

They are not Real but merely Phenomenal,—not only they but all our sense-experience and the world of knowledge built up by Sense and Understanding. Underlying this discontent with the Phenomenal, there is the inevitable hankering for the Real. This was identified by later Buddhists with *Sunnatā* or negation of phenomena, i.e., the Transcendental Reality.

(b) "Rūpam aniccam."

"Rūpam (things seen which symbolize all objects of sense) is impermanent."

"Yam panāniccam tam Dukkham, viparināmādhhamam."

"That, again, which is impermanent is misery, subject to change."

This is why Buddha considered life and everything connected with it as misery.

There is a sort of naive realism which takes for granted all that is, without any discrimination between the real and the unreal, the essential and the non-essential. Buddha as well as the Upanishads fought against this great illusion and demanded that life and the world we live in must be re-interpreted and there must be a revaluation of the ends of pursuit. It was no wonder then that the wrong view of life, which treated the world as if it were real and permanent, and on which the entire

fabric of society seemed to rest in those days, should be decried and a new interpretation insisted upon.

Buddha approached the problem from the practical (moral) point of view, while the Upanishads did it from the theoretical (intellectual) point of view. Buddha's religion hence became Transcendental Ethics, while the Upanishads inculcated Transcendental Metaphysics.

Let us now consider his views about the ultimate goal, viz., Nirvāṇa.

(a) *After death*.—Buddha was the very impersonation of sympathy. He was often called to minister unto dying men who sought his last benediction as well as the assurance of a future life. The following quotation records the re-assuring words which he addressed to a lay disciple to whose deathbed he had been summoned for the last ministrations :

“Seyyathāpi, Mahānāma, puriso sappikumbham vā telakumbham gambhiram udakarahadam ogāhetvā bhindeyya. Tatra yā assa sakkharā vā kaṭṭhalā vā sā adhogaṃ assa. Yanca khvassa tatra sappi vā telam vā tam uddhamgāmi assa visesagāmi. Eva-meva kho Mahānāma yassa kassaci digharattam saddhāparibhāvitam cittam sila-suta-cāga-pañña-paribhāvitam cittam, tassa kho hoti khvāyam-kāyo rūpi cētumāhabhutiko mātāpitiko sambhavo odanakummasupacayo anniccūhādāna-parimaddana-bhedāna-vidhamsanadhammo. Tam idheva Kākā khādanti, gijjhā vā khādanti, Kulala vā khādanti, Sunakhā vā khādanti, Sigālā vā khādanti, vividhā pānakajāta vā khādanti. Yanca khvassa tam cittam digharattam saddhā-paribhāvitam sila-suta-cāga-pañña-paribhāvitam, tam uddhamgāmi hoti visesagāmi.”

“Just as, Mahānāma, when a man breaks an earthen vessel containing oil or clarified butter after diving into a lake, the broken fragments of the pot take a downward course, but the oil or clarified butter takes an upward and a special course ; so it is certain, Mahānāma, in the case of the man who has long disciplined his *cittam* (the intelligent principle in man, or soul) through reverence, right conduct, learning, renunciation and perfect wisdom, his body which has a form and is made up of the

four elements, is derived from father and mother, is nourished by rice and rice-gruel, is impermanent, and can be killed and crushed, pierced and destroyed, is eaten, while here, by crows, vultures, ospreys, dogs, jackals, and various other animals; but his *cittam* (soul), which has been long disciplined through reverence, right conduct, learning, renunciation and perfect wisdom, takes an upward and a special course."

After death, the body is destroyed, but the soul lives, provided that a man has led a good and virtuous life.

(b) *Dhammatanu*.—In the last words which Mahāpajāpati Gotami addressed to Buddha, when she was dying, she drew a contrast between two bodies, *Rupakāya* and *Dhammakāya*, i.e., the material and the spiritual bodies. She spoke of herself as having reared up the material body of Buddha as she took his mother's place after her death, and of Buddha as having nourished her *Anindita Dhammatanu*, the unblemished spiritual body. The doctrine of *Dhammakāya* was further developed in the northern school of Buddhism, but space will not allow me to refer to it here.

(c) *Nirvāna* is a transcendent state. The *Udāna* speaks thus of *Nirvāna* :—

"Yattha āpoca pathavi, tejo vāyo no gādhati,
Na tattha sukkā jotanti, ādicco nappakāsati,
Na tattha candimā bhāti, tamo tattha na vijjati."

"Where water and earth, fire and air do not reach,
There white things do not shed lustre, neither does the
sun shine,

There the moon does not glow, neither does darkness exist."

This is a description of the transcendent state almost in the same words as have been quoted above in connection with the Upanishads.

(d) *Nirvāna* is happiness: Sāriputra is reported to have spoken about *Niravāna* thus :—

"Ekam samayam āyasmā Sāriputto Rājagahe viharati Veluvane Kalandaka-Nivape. Tatra kho āyasmā Sāriputto Bhikkhu āmantesi : Sukhamidaṃ āvuso Nibbāṇaṃ, sukhamidaṃ āvuso Nibbāṇaṃti."

"Once upon a time, Śāriputta was living in Kalandaka-Nivāpa, in Velu vana, Rājagaha. There the reverend Śāriputta addressed the Bhikkhus thus: "O my friends, Nirvāna is happiness ; Nirvāna is happiness."

When he was pressed by the Bhikkhus to explain why he thought it to be happiness, though it had been described by the Master to be beyond feeling (i.e., Joy and Sorrow), he replied that it was bliss because it was beyond all objects of enjoyment which have been condemned by the Master as really pain. Nirvāna is *Transcendent Bliss*.

(e) Nirvāna is a state of mind in which there is neither consciousness nor not-consciousness. It is *Transcendental Consciousness*. It is described as Sañña-na-sañña āyatanam. This description exactly corresponds to the fourth state of the Self as expounded in the Upanishads.

Thus we find that both Buddhism and Vedāntism arose out of the same movement of thought and tried to re-interpret life and revise the standards of value so far as the ends of life are concerned. The happy, uncritical optimism of the early Vedic stage is passed under a relentless scrutiny and found wanting, and new views of life are sought for re-interpreting the world of existence. Both the systems seek a revaluation of life under the guidance of a transcendent vision, resulting in the one case, in the doctrine of a Transcendent Being who is the background of all things, and in the other case of a Transcendent State of Being in which the finite, the unreal and the ephemeral ultimately lose themselves. To the Vedantist, contemplation or thought, is the way of salvation, to the Buddhist, right conduct, or action, is the path to the attainment of Undying Bliss.

III.—Notes on Asoka's Inscriptions (II).

By K. P. Jayaswal.

(6)

"ANUBANDHA" AND "KRITABHIKARA".

Revision of Sentence.

Anubandha occurs in Asoka's 'Rock Series Dharma-lipi' ("Rock Edict") V, in connection with remission of punishment of convicts (*bandhana-badhana patividhānāya*). Its meaning has been missed by Bühler. It is a technical term of Hindu Law meaning 'motive', 'intention'. Manu, VIII. 126, lays down that in inflicting punishment *anubandha*, and 'place and time', amongst other things, should be taken into consideration. Medhātithi gives two meanings to the word: 'motive' or 'repeatedness' (of the offence). That the former is correct is proved by Manu, VII. 16, where *anubandha* is replaced by *vidyā* or 'knowledge', and by Vasishṭha's Dharmasūtra, xix. 9, which also substitutes *vidyā* for *anubandha*.

Asoka's Ministers of the Dharma (Department) revised sentences on the grounds of

- (a) *Anubandha* (motive),
- (b) *Prājāva* (children to be supported by the prisoner),
- (c) Old age, and
- (d) *Kṛitābhikāra*.*

Against this MANU (VIII. 126) has

- (a) *Anubandha* (motive),
- (b) Circumstances ('place and time'),
- (c) Strength (of the prisoner) and

* इयं अप्रबन्धं पञ्चाव ति वा कटाभिकारो ति वा मन्त्रावर्तते वा
(Kali).

(d) Crime.*

GAUTAMA (XII. 51) gives :

(a) Anubandha,

(b) ' Man ',

(c) Strength, and

(d) Crime. †

VASISHTHA in the corresponding provision (XIX. 91) enumerates

(a) Knowledge (vidyā),

(b) Circumstances and duty (deśa-kāla-dharma),

(c) Age, and

(d) Cause. ‡

KAUTILYA (IV. 85, p. 226) similarly mentions :

(a) Anubandha and the present circumstances (when the offence was committed, ' tadātva '),

(b) Circumstances (deśa-kāla),

(c) ' Man ' and

(d) Crime and its source, and its amount. §

YAJÑAVALKYA (I. 367) counts :

(b) Circumstances,

(c) Strength,

or

Age ;

Business and means ; and

(d) Crime. ||

Yājñavalkya leaves out the element of mentality, and evidently explains (c) and (b) by " age " and " means ". To

* अनुबन्धं परिचाय देशकालौ च तत्त्वतः । अपराधौ चाजोऽव
दृष्टं दण्डेऽपि पातयेत् ॥

† पुरुषशक्त्यपराधानुबन्धविज्ञानाद्व्यवस्थितयोगः ।

‡ दृष्टस्तु देशकालधर्मवयोविद्यास्थानविशेषे हिंसाक्रोशयोः कल्प्यः ।

§ पुरुषं चापराधं च कारकं गुरुत्वाच्च । अनुबन्धं तदालं च देशकालौ
समीक्ष्य च ॥

|| ज्ञात्वा ऽपराधं देशं च कालं बलमपि वा । वयः कर्म च वित्तं च
दृष्टं दण्डेऽपि पातयेत् ॥

the "means" and "circumstances" of the law corresponds Aśoka's ground 'that the criminal has got children (dependent on him)'. To the "man", "strength" and "age" of the law-books corresponds Aśoka's ground "that the criminal is old". To the "crime" and "its source" (Kāraṇa, Sthāna) corresponds Aśoka's 'Kṛitābhikāra' which literally means 'this man committed the offence on behalf of (another)', i.e., the Kāraṇa 'the employer' or the "cause" of the offence (Vasishṭha) was different. Āpastamba (II. 11. 29) * divides culprits into three classes, "employer" or instigator, 'advisor', and 'doer'. The (d) division of Aśoka and Dharmaśāstras corresponds to Āpastamba's 'employers'. Bühler's rendering of *kṛitābhikāra* ("overwhelmed by misfortune") is far wide off the mark. Nor does he catch the sense of the record when he refers the whole passage to 'the prevention of *unjust* imprisonment and of *unjust* corporal punishment.' What is meant is a revision (*pratividhāna*—'counter-ordering'), and reduction of punishment already ordered. The above grounds might lead the Dharma-Mahāmātras to reduce a sentence of imprisonment (*bandhana*) or torture and tortured death (*vaṭha*)†—to make it lighter (*aparibodhāya*) or totally remit it (*moḥhaye*).

(7)

MANGALA.

Maṅgala in Rock Series IX is translated as 'auspicious rites' and taken in its ordinary sense by Bühler. But the term is technical. It should be left untranslated. For its technical significance see *Maṅgala-Jātaka* (Fausböll, J. I., p. 371). *Maṅgalas* were performed either before or after an event. In the latter case *Maṅgalas* had been promised to a certain deity on the happening of a desired event. Aśoka is speaking of such *Maṅgalas* in the latter part of the record.

* प्रयोजयिता मन्ता कर्त्तेति

† Artha-Śāstra, IV. 80; Yājñavalkya, II. 270.

The Jātaka shows that sacrifices of birds and beasts were made at Maṅgalas. Aśoka's object was to stop the killing of animals at the Maṅgalas and to supersede them by what he called Dharmamaṅgala, which would secure, in his opinion, spiritual benefit as well as worldly success.

IV.—References to Education in the Jātakas.

By J. N. Sikdar, M.A.

THE Jātakas give some incidental information about the system of education which prevailed in Hindu India before the rise of Buddhism. If we put together these references we get an important, though only partial, picture of the system of education which obtained some seven or six hundred years before the birth of Christ.

GENERAL EDUCATION.

The Jātakas have no occasion to refer to the general or ordinary education of a student except in one case. In the Kaṭāhaka Jātaka (Vol. I, 125) we read “*Setṭhiputte lekhaṃ sikkhante va dāso pi'ssa phalakaṃ vahaṃāno gantvā ten'eva saddhiṃ lekhaṃ sikkhi*”. When the son of the Setṭhin learnt writing, the slave (Kaṭāhaka) too went with him carrying his board and thus learnt writing.

It is evident from the above statement that the son of the Setṭhin and the slave Kaṭāhaka did not receive instruction at home. They presumably went to a school for education. The curriculum of these schools is not exhaustively known. The use of the word “*phalakaṃ*”, which means a tablet makes it clear that writing was included in it. It also shows that the method of instructing beginners in the art of writing was much the same as in the primary schools of the present day.

The art of writing was apparently learnt in the lower forms of the school. In higher forms important courses of study were introduced. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya throws some light on the point. In describing the curriculum which a prince should master before 16 years of age, the author lays down (Ch. I, 5)¹

¹ J. B. O. R. S., III, 430.

that after "ichūdākarma" which was done in the 4th year, a boy should be taught "lipi" (writing) and "saṅkhāyana" (arithmetic). The order in which lipi and saṅkhāyana are mentioned, shows that writing was followed at a higher stage by practice in arithmetic. The Vedas and politics came in his studies after initiation which, according to the Dharmasūtras, was performed in the eleventh year. The foregoing details apply to the education of a prince, a Kshatriya. For other castes, however, it is not unreasonable to suppose that courses of study were generally the same. The study of politics which properly belongs to the curriculum of a prince was probably substituted in case of other castes by legal studies. That legal study formed part of general education is indicated by the fact that both the son of the Setṭhin, a Vaiśya and Kaṭāhaka, a Sūdra, mastered three branches of civil law. "Dve tayo vohāre akāsi."

HIGHER EDUCATION.

Takshaśilā.—The higher education of a boy commenced after the completion of general education. Of all places which imparted higher education, Takshaśilā in the kingdom of Gāndhāra was by far the most important and well-renowned. The Jātakas are full of references to its fame as a university town. It was the chief intellectual centre of the age, the Oxford of Hindu India, the culture of which was eagerly sought and much valued in the country. Notwithstanding the long distance of the place and the hardship and danger entailed in the journey, students of all ranks from all over Āryāvarta flocked there in large number to receive education at the feet of world-famed teachers. No education, it seems, was deemed complete unless it was received from the University of Takshaśilā. The Tilamutṭhi Jātaka (Vol. II, 252) mentions that in spite of the presence of famous teachers in their capitals, the kings used to send their sons far off to Takshaśilā to complete their education.

Benares.—Next to Takshaśilā, Benares was the most important as a centre of Hindu learning. Several passages in the Jātakas mention that students after completing education in

Takshaśilā, set up in Benares what would be called private schools in Europe, and imparted higher education to a large number of pupils. The Kosiya Jātaka (Vol. I, 130) states "Bodhisatto Takkaśilāyaṃ sabbasippāni uggaṇḥitvā Bārāṇasīyaṃ disāpāmoḁkko āchāriyo ahoṣi, rājdhānīsu khattiyakumārā cha brāhmaṇakumārā cha yebhuyyena tass'eva santike sippaṃ uggaṇḥanti." Bodhisatto having mastered all the sippas (sciences) in Takshaśilā became a teacher of world-wide fame in Benares. In the capital a large number of Kshatriya and Brahmin youths used to learn sippas from him. Again in the Anabhīrati Jātaka (Vol. II, 185) it is stated : " Bodhisatto Takkaśilāyaṃ mante uggaṇḥitvā disāpāmoḁkko, āchāriyo hutvā Bārāṇasīyaṃ bahū khattiyabrāhmaṇakumāre mante vāchesi." Bodhisatto having learnt sacred verses in Takshaśilā, became a far-famed teacher in Benares and gave lessons in sacred verses to many Kshatriya and Brahmin youths.

All these references indicate that through the help of these students, the culture of Takshaśilā was introduced into Benares. Though there is no mention of other places in the Jātakas, it is likely enough that numerous schools sprang up in the country conducted by the ex-students of Takshaśilā, which in a great degree helped the progress of education.

Forest Seats.—The spread of higher education was also largely promoted by religious teachers, who after completing education in Takshaśilā, renounced the world and becoming hermits, gave instruction to numerous disciples in the traditional learning of the age. One of the many references which bear out the fact, is mentioned in the Ādicchupatṭhāna Jātaka (Vol. II, 175) which states " Bodhisatto kāsiraṭṭhe brāhmaṇakule nibbaṭṭitvā vayappaṭṭo Takkaśilāyaṃ sabbasippaṃ uggaṇḥitvā isipabbajjaṃ pabbajitvā mahāparivāro gaṇasatṭhā hutvā Himavante vāsaṃ kappesi ". Bodhisatta was born in a Brahman family in the kingdom of Kāśī and having mastered all the sippas (sciences) in Takshaśilā became a hermit and lived in the Himalayas at the head of a large number of disciples.

In Hindu India these forest seats were much renowned as centres of culture and some of the boldest speculations in Indian philosophy emanated from these sylvan seats of learning.

Residential system.—The chief feature of these educational institutions was that they were residential, and, from the frequent use of the expression “*paññamānavakasatāni*” which means a body of 500 pupils, it appears that the usual number of students which learnt under the guidance of an Āchariyo or the chief preceptor was limited to five hundred. Those resident pupils, according to the Tilamutti Jātaka (Vol. II, 252) were divided into two classes, viz., those who paid the teacher’s fee (*āchariyobhāgadāyaka*) and those who could not afford to pay it (*dhammantevāsikā*). Whenever a new student arrived, the teacher made it a point to enquire of him to which class he would like to belong. Thus when Brahmaddattakumāra reached Takshasilā for education, he was addressed by the Āchariyo in these words “*kin te āchariyobhāgo ābhato, udāhu dhammantevāsiko hotūkāmo sīti.*” Well, have you brought the teacher’s fee or do you wish to attend on me in return for teaching you? (Rouse.) It is further stated therein that those who brought the teacher’s fee were treated like eldest sons (*Jetthaputtā viya*) in the house of the teacher; while those who could not afford to pay any remuneration, had to perform menial duties, e.g., drawing water, bringing firewood, etc., during the day, and received instruction at night. “*Dhammantevāsikā divā āchariyassa kammam katvā rattiṃ sippam uggaṇhanti.*”

Besides the resident pupils, day-scholars are also mentioned in the Jātakas. The following extract from the Durājāna Jātaka (Vol. I, 64) will show that there were married men who prosecuted studies living in their own homes.

“*Bodhisatto disāpā mokkho āchariya hutvā paññamānavakasatāni sippam sikkhāpeti. Ath’eko tiroraṭṭhavāsiko brāhmaṇamānavako āgantvā tassa santike sippam uggaṇhanto ekāyā itthiya patibaddhaehitto hutvā taṃ bhariyam katvā tasmin eva Bārāṇasīnagare vasanto dve tisso velāya āchariyassa uppaṭṭhānāṃ na gacchati.*”

"Bodhisatta having become a teacher of world-wide fame instructed 500 pupils in sippas. One of them, a Brahmin youth, from a foreign land while studying under him fell in love with a woman and made her his wife. Though he continued to live in Benares, he failed two or three times in his attendance on the teacher." (Translation adapted from Chalmers.)

Fees.—The amount of fees for higher education was fixed at 1,000 kahapaṇas with which every boy going up to Takshaśīla had to be provided. Out of this money were presumably met the expenses of the food and clothing of the students during their stay at the University. As a general rule the fees were realized before the commencement of study. The only exception is found in the *Dūta Jātaka* (Vol. IV, 478) in which a student is represented as collecting nikkas (gold) for paying his teacher after the completion of education. The mention of the nikkas is conclusive as showing that fees were accepted in gold. Considering the length of time, a student took to finish higher education and taking into account the necessary expenses which the teacher had to incur for him, the amount of fees charged, does not seem to have been very heavy.

In addition to that, every facility was afforded to the poor to enable them to receive higher education free of cost. The *Losak Jātaka* (Vol. I, 41) states "Bodhisatto Bārāṇasīyaṃ disāpāṃokkho ēchariyo hutvā pachamāṇavakasatāni sippaṃ vāchesi. Tadā Bārāṇasīvāsino duggatānaṃ paribbāyaṃ datvā sippaṃ sikkhāpenti." Bodhisatta having become a far-famed teacher in Benares, instructed 500 pupils in sippas. In those days the people of Benares used to bear necessary expenses of poor pupils and had them taught free.

Duration of Student life.—The duration of student life is not distinctly mentioned in the *Jātakas*. From numerous references it is clear that students used to go up for higher education at the age of sixteen. In Buddha Ghosha's commentary on the *Chivarakhanda* Vinaya Piṭaka (Singhalese Edition) (1) it is stated that Jīvaka, who went to study medicine in Tak-

(1) This reference has been kindly given to me by Principal D. N. Sen, M.A.

shaśilā, learnt in seven years what others would have learnt in sixteen years. "Ettha ayam kira Jivaka yattakam āchariyo yānāti, iyam aññe solasehivassehi uggaṇhanti, tam sabbaṃ sattahi vassehi uggahehi." "This Jivaka has learnt all that in seven years which the Āchariyo knows and which others take sixteen years in learning." Here we get the two extremes, which, when added to sixteen, make up twenty-three and thirty-two, the minimum and maximum age respectively during which it can be reasonably supposed, the students finished their higher education.

Marriage.—Marriage was usually performed after the completion of student life. But instances are also mentioned in the Jātakas wherein students are described as attending the lectures of the teacher even after marriage. The Durājāna Jātaka referred to above and the Anabhirati Jātaka (Vol. I, 65) mention how a student was compelled to absent himself from lectures owing to the bad influence of his wife. The Silavimamsana Jātaka (Vol. III, 305) describes the test by which a teacher of Takshaśilā chose a virtuous bridegroom for his grown up daughter from among his students. Addressing his chief pupil, Bodhisatta, who alone could stand the test, the teacher said: "Ahaṃ pana Silasaṃpannassa dhītaṃ dātukāmo ime maṇavake vimamsanto evaṃ akāsim, mama dhīta tumhaṃ ñeva anucchavikā, ti dhītaṃ alaṃkaritvā Bodhisattassa adāsi." "In order to marry my daughter to a virtuous man, I acted thus to test these pupils. But you alone are worthy of my daughter." Saying this he adorned his daughter and gave her in marriage to Bodhisatta.

All these examples show that marriage was permissible even during student life, but the practice was not generally followed.

Habits of life.—The particulars of student life are very few in the Jātakas. Those that are found show that students had a very simple life under the paternal care of their teachers. The Tilamutṭhi Jātaka gives us an idea of the necessities of student life. A pair of one soled shoes (ekatālika upāṇaha) and a sun-shade of leaves (paṇṇachattam) were all with which even the

sons of kings were provided when going to Takshasilā. The purse of 1,000 kāhapaṇas, which they usually took from home as teacher's fee, had to be delivered to the teacher before the commencement of study. There is no indication in the Jātakas that the students had any private purse out of which they could spend at pleasure. The Jūṇha Jātaka (Vol. IV, 456) suggests that even princes were not allowed to retain a single farthing with them. Prince Jūṇha, son of the king of Benares, while coming to his lodgings one night in the dark, after listening to the lecture of his teacher in Takshasilā, ran against a poor Brahmin and broke his alms-bowl. When the Brahmin asked for the price of rice, the prince had to declare his inability to pay it. He said "idān' ahaṃ tava bhattamūlaṃ dātum no sakkomi, ahaṃ kho pana kāsirañño putto Jūṇhakumāro nāma, mayi rajje patitṭhite āgantvā maṃ dhanam yaceyyāsīti". I cannot now give you the price of a meal; but I am Prince Jūṇha, son of the king of Kāśi, when I become possessed of the kingdom, you may come to me and ask for the money." (Rouse.)

This incident illustrates what sort of strict control they had to live under. They were not even free to go to the river side for taking their bath. The Tilamuṭṭhi Jātaka says that at the time of bathing the students were accompanied by their teacher who was apparently deputed there to look after their discipline. Any breach of it was punished. We read in the same Jātaka of a boy who while going to take his bath with the teacher picked up some sweets without the permission of the vendor. On a complaint being made, the teacher asked two other students to hold fast both the hands of the culprit and himself struck him on his back with bamboo stick.

"Dvīhi māṇavehi taṃ Kumāraṃ dvisu haṭṭhesu gahāpetvā velupesikaṃ gahetvā . . . puna evarūpaṃ mākāsi" tiṅkhattum piṭṭhiyaṃ pahari" (Vol. II, 252).

Food.—Their food was as simple as their habits of life and consisted chiefly of rice (bhatta) or rice gruel (yagum) prepared by the maid of the teacher's house. In invitation-dinners they were given unrefined sugar, curd and milk. "Ekadivasam

nimantane ekache māpavā gulāṃ, dadhinā bhūñjīṃsu ekache khirena." One day the pupils were invited to eat jaggery with curd and milk (Vol. I., 123).

Study hour.—The study hour commenced early in the morning when the boys were roused from sleep by the crowing of a cock. The cock, it appears, was domesticated in every educational institution for serving the purpose of a clock. The Akālarāvi Jātaka (Vol. I, 119) describes how the students had to suffer in their studies by the untimely crowing of a cock.

"Māpavā tassa atirattim vassankāle sippam sikkantā yāva arunuggamanā sikkhitum na sakkonti, niddāyamānā gahitaṭṭhānampi na passanti, atipabhāte vassitakāle sajjhāyassa okāsaṃ eva na labhanti."

This means :—When the students were roused by its crowing at midnight, they could not continue studies till the rising of the sun ; for feeling drowsy they *could not even see* the portion (of the book) on which they had received lessons. When it fell a-crowing in broad day, they could not get an opportunity for *repeating* their lessons.

It is apparent from the above statement that the students had two periods assigned to them for private study, one in which they learnt with the help of books and the other in which they recapitulated their lessons. The two things, it seems, had to be finished before noon.

Āchariyo or the Chief Preceptor.—The Achariyas or chief preceptors are all described in the Jātakas as teachers of world-wide fame (disāpāmokkho). They were honoured and respected by kings and the people. Some of the enlightened royal courts, e.g., Videha, Benares and Pāñchala retained them as royal chaplains. The Sarabhangā Jātaka (Vol. V, 522) says that Prince Jotipāla who satisfied his Āchariya in Takshaśilā by his proficiency in learning, was presented by him with his own sword, bow, quiver and coat of mail. This fact indicates either the Āchariyo was himself a warrior, a Kshatriya or a Brahmin who taught both the art of war and the art of peace.

It has already been pointed out that the usual number of students which learnt under an Āchariyo was limited to 500. In teaching these pupils, the Āchariyo was helped by other teachers who in the Jātakas are called "*piṭṭhiāchariyo*" or assistant teachers. The Anabbhirati Jātaka already noticed, mentions that a Brahmin youth having mastered the three Vedas under Bodhisatto became his assistant teacher and taught sacred verses to others "*Tassa (Bodhisattassa) santike eko brāhmaṇa-māṇavaka tayo vede pagune akasi, ekapadepi nikkamkbo piṭ-tiāchariyo hutvā mante vāchesi* (Vol. II, 185).

Besides the assistant teachers, the Āchariyo was also helped in teaching by his chief pupils who are called "*Jeṭṭhante-vāsiko*". In the Mahādhammapāla Jātaka (Vol. IV, 447) an Āchariyo is mentioned to have delegated his work during his absence to Dhammapāla who was the chief pupil among his 500 students. Calling Dhammapāla to his presence, the Āchariyo said "*Taṁ yava mamāgamanā ime māṇave sippaṁ vāchehi.*" Till my return you instruct these pupils in sippa.

Courses of Study.—The three Vedas and the eighteen Sippas are repeatedly spoken of as the subject taught in the University. The three Vedas are evidently the R̥g, the Sāma and the Yaju which possibly included all their branches. The Atharva Veda was not recognized as a Veda in the age of the Jātakas. We do not know of what did the 18 sippas consist. They are everywhere collectively mentioned as "*aṭṭhārasa-sippāni*". Only a few names, such as "*Issāpasippa*" (science of archery), *Haṭṭhi sutta* (Elephant Text) and *Manta* (sacred text) occur in the Jātakas. From the story of Jivaka, in the Vinaya Piṭaka, it appears that the study of medicine and surgery was included in the curriculum of the University.

Most of the references in the Jātakas point to the students' taking the sippa or the science course. The Vedic or theological studies are found to have been taken up by very few. In the majority of cases, the reference is to "*having mastered the sippas, sabbasippāni uggāṇhitvā*" without any mention of the Vedic studies. This fact indicates that technical education was

more in vogue in the time of the *Jātakas* than Vedic or theological studies.

It is also apparent from some passages in the *Jātakas* that in addition to the ordinary course, a student was allowed to take up a special course in one of the *sippas*. In the *Asadisa Jātaka* (Vol. II, 181) we are told that Bodhisatta became peerless in the science of archery in addition to learning the three Vedas and the 18 *sippas*. "Bodhisatto solasavassakāle Takkasilaṃ gantvā disāpāmokkhaṃ āchariyassa santike tayo Vede atthārassa sippāni ca uggaṇhitvā issāpasippe asadiso hutvā Bārāṇasim pacchāgami". "At the age of 16, Bodhisatta went to Takshaśīla and learnt the three Vedas and 18 *sippas* under a famous teacher. Having become peerless in the science of archery he came back to Benares." Another reference to the same effect is found in Volume III, 374, which states "Eko Bārāṇasi Brāhmaṇamāṇavo Takkasilāyo sabbasippāni uggaṇhitvā dhanukamme nippahattiṃ patto Culla-dhanuggaḥapandita nāma ahosi". A certain Brahmin student of Benares learnt all the sciences in Takshaśīla, and having acquired proficiency in archery was known as the clever Little archer.

Moreover, students are described as going up to the University for specializing in one subject only. Thus in the *Susima Jātaka* (Vol. II, 163) the son of the King's Chaplain goes to Takshaśīla for mastering the "Hatthi suttā" (Elephant Text) only. Again in the *Anabhirati Jātaka* already quoted, a Brahmin youth is represented as learning only "manta" (sacred text) in Takshaśīla. Jīvaka, we know from the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, went to Takshaśīla only for studying medicine and surgery.

It should, however, be noted in this connection that these sciences were not simply theoretical. The frequent reference to the fact that students after completing their education had to give proof of what they had learnt, suggests that they had to do the practical side as well. The *Tilamuttṭhi Jātaka* tells us that when Brahmadattakumara returned to Benares after finishing education in Takshaśīla, he had to give to his parents a practical demonstration of his knowledge of the "sippas," which he had acquired there. "So Bārāṇasim gantvā

yeva okāsam karotha." Be pleased to give me your time for this night only. [1]

Text Books.—From the frequent use of the expression "Sippam Vāchesi" which means "Causing to read the sippas," it is apparent that students used to learn sippas with the help of books.

A passage in the Akālarāvi Jātaka, already quoted, viz., "nid-dāyamānā gahitaṭṭhānam pi na passanti," feeling drowsy they could not even see the portion (of the book) on which they had received lessons, confirms the above statement. A direct reference to the existence of books (poṭṭhakam), occurs in Tundila Jātaka (Vol. III, 388) wherein Bodhisatta is represented as preparing a book of judgment for deciding cases. "Bodhisatta vinicchaya poṭṭhakam likhāpetvā imam poṭṭhakam oloketā aṭṭham kareyyathā". Bodhisatta caused a case-law book to be written and said, "By observing this book you should decide cases."

Besides, the repeated mention of the use of writing in the Jātakas, [2] both in private and official correspondence, leaves no doubt that it was quite a common thing in the age of the Jātakas. When it is observed that the art of writing was used in every sphere of daily life, there can be no reason to doubt, that it was equally employed for preserving the traditional learning of the times.

Nature study for the feeble-minded.—In addition to theoretical lectures and practical training, nature study was sometimes prescribed for those who were intellectually weak among students. In the Naṅgalisa Jātaka (Vol. I, 123), we are told that a Brahmin youth who used to learn the scriptures from

[1] I am indebted to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., (Oxon.) for drawing my attention to the fact that Muladeva, a renowned professor of arts, used to deliver lectures at night.

(2) J. I. 125.

J. II. 214.

J. II. 181.

J. III. 301.

J. IV. 482.

J. IV. 467.

a famous teacher of Benares, could not properly grasp the meaning and entertained some wrong notions in his mind. The Āchariya was very anxious for him and hit upon a plan of educating him through the help of nature. He resolved on questioning him on his return from gathering firewood and leaves "as to what he had seen or done in the forest that day and as to what it was like". This process he thought would lead the student to make comparisons and give reasons, and that the continuous practice of comparing and reasoning, would make the task of teaching him easier.

"Atha'assa etad ahosi: ath'eko upāyo, ahañ imam mānavam darutthāya, paññatthāya gantvā āgataṃ 'ajja te kiṃ diṭṭhaṃ, kiṃ kataṃ'ti pucchhissāmi, 'imañ nāma ajja mayā diṭṭhaṃ idam kataṃ'ti ācikkhissati, athanañ 'tayādiṭṭhañ cha katañ cha kidisañ ti pucchissāmi, so 'evarupam, nāmā' ti upamāya cha karapena cha kathessati, ti nañ navam navam upamān cha kāraṇaṃ cha kathapetvā imina upāyena paṇḍitaṃ karissāmi"

Then this occurred to him, "There is one way of doing it. When this boy returns after gathering wood and leaves, I shall ask him 'what have you seen and what have you been doing to-day?' He would say, 'I have seen this and have done this.' I shall then ask him 'What sorts of things were seen by you and what sorts of action did you perform?' He would say, 'it was like this' and use comparisons and give reasons. In this way by leading him on to fresh comparisons and new reasonings, I shall make him a learned man."

Other objects of University education.—The objects of higher education are set forth in the Tilamuttīhi Jātaka, where it is stated that in sending boys to the University, the kings had other objects in view besides pure education, viz., to quell their pride or to democratize the princely mind and to make them hardy and acquainted with the character of the people.

"Porāṇakorājāno cha attanoputte evaṃ, etc., nihata mānadappā sītuṇhakkhamā lokachārittaaññū cha bhavissantīti attano nagare disāpāmokkhe āchariye vijjamāne pi sippuggahaññatthāya dūre tiro rattham (Takshaśilā) pesenti."

“Kings of former times, though there might be famous teachers living in the city, often used to send their sons far off to foreign countries (Takshasilā) to complete their education, that by this means, they might learn to quell their pride and arrogance, to endure heat and cold and be made acquainted with the character of the people” (Translation adapted from Rouse).

Conclusion.—The materials that we have been able to glean from all parts of the Jātakas show a general spread of education in the country as early as the age of the Jātakas. A chief intellectual centre of the age was Takshasilā from which culture radiated over a great area. The University of Benares was a growing institution in the age of the Jātakas and did not attain much of the celebrity which it afterwards attained since the decline of Takshasilā. The system of education which obtained in Takshasilā, was introduced into Benares, and it is worthy of note, that in both the places, the study of the “sippas” found favour with a large number of students, who must have found it more profitable than any other study. The influx of students in the universities for receiving technical education, is suggestive of the fact that there was a great demand in the country of experts in the age of the Jātakas.

It is also interesting to find that in the university the art of war was taught side by side with the art of peace. The teachers, at least some of them, we have already noticed, were military men. References in the Jātakas to the teaching of archery at Takshasilā are numerous.

NOTE.—Owing to the Plate illustrating this Copper Plate grant not being yet received, it will be published in the September number of the Journal. It should be bound up in its place with this Paper.

V—Tekkali Inscription of Madhyamarāja, the son of Petavyāloparāja.

By Mahamahopādhyāya Haraprāsad Sāstri, M.A., C.I.E.,
F.A.S.B.

The copperplate measures $5\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3''$. It is the second of at least three plates which completed the grant. The three plates were joined together by a ring with a seal. The seal and the ring seem to have been wrenched away, breaking a portion from the plate. It begins abruptly from the middle of a verse and ends also in the middle of a verse. Its find spot is not known. It was sent to me last year by Sir Edward Gait for decipherment. He seems to have got it from the Yuvarāja of Tekkali.

The mahgalācharaṇa or invocation is not to be found in this plate as it was engraved in the first plate. The formal part of the grant together with the imprecatory verses was engraved in the third plate. The present plate being the second contains only a portion of the genealogy. Even the name of the donor is not here. This copperplate seems to belong to the Śailodbhava family of the Kōṅgada in Kalinga, of which three only are known, namely, (1)^[1] Bugura plate of Mādhavavarman (2) Parikud plate^[2] of Madhyamarāja, (3) and the plates of the time of Śaśaṅkarāja,^[3] whose dependents the early Śailodbhava princes seem to have been.

The princes of the family had their names ending in the word *Bhīta*—and the same name often recurs. In the present plate the first name is Madhyamarāja who got the kingdom from his father. (2) His son was Dharmarāja also called Mānabhīta. (3) His son was Madhyamarāja, the second. (4) His son was Rāṇakṣobha, which I take to be an equivalent of Rānabhīta.

[¹] Epi. Ind. Vol. III, p. 41 ff.

[²] Epi. Ind. Vol. XI, p. 281 ff

[³] Epi. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 143 ff.

(5) His successor was his brother Petavyāloparāja who came from a *giri* or hill, the name of it is difficult to read. (6) He was succeeded by Madhyamarāja the third, the son of Yuvarāja Taillapanibha. So the genealogy would run thus :—

I. Madhyamarāja, the First.

II. Dharmarāja (Mānabhīta).

III. Madhyamarāja, the Second.

IV. Banakṣobha.

V. Petavyāloparāja.

VI Madhyamarāja, the Third (Son of Yuvarāja Taillapanibha).

The family seems to have reigned for several generations, but without any independent authority. It is not possible to say to whom they owed allegiance at any particular period of time. They were, in the beginning of the seventh century, dependents of Saśāṅkarāja Narendra Gupta of Western Bengal.

The script resembles that of the Parikud plate of Madhyamarājadeva with these differences (1) that in Parikud plates the vertical lines of 'm' have become slanting in the present plate; (2) That 's' has a triangular nose in this plate, while in Parikud it is only a line, (3) that 'ś' has the left hand limb much more flattened than in Parikud. (4) That the line joining the right hand and the left hand limbs of 'a' is longer in this than in the Parikud; (5) that 'h' in this plate a mere waving line, but in the Parikud there are two waves, the right hand one being lower down (6) that the 'kh' in this plate begins with a triangle at the right hand side ending in a knot on the left hand side, whereas in the Parikud it does not end in a knot. It does not end in a knot and seems to be taller; (7) that 'ṣ' in this plate is open only at the top while in Parikud it is open both at the top and at the bottom.

The only portion of this inscription which agrees with Parikud is the verse Anye Vāyuphalambha bhakṣaṇa ratāḥ, etc. The verse refers in both cases to Madhyamarāja, but it is doubtful whether to the same person.

The history of this family as gathered from epigraphs seems to run thus. In the Kalinga country, there was a famous man named Pulindasena. He did not like to take upon himself the burden of the earth and so prayed to Svayambhu for a king; and Svayambhu produced Sailodbhava from rocks^[1]. During the reign of Śaśāṅkarāja, in the first half of the seventh century, Madhyamarāja II who bore another name Sainyabhīta on his seal, was a feudatory. His father Yāsobhīta and his grandfather Madhyamarāja I were also feudatory chiefs^[2]. From the Bugura plates, the writing on which is of much later date than that of Śaśāṅkarāja's feudatory, we get the four following names:—Raṇabhīta, Sainyabhīta, Yāsobhīta, Sainyabhīta, also called Śrīnivāsa and Mādhavavarman. From the Parikud grants^[3] we get Raṇabhīta, Sainyabhīta I, Yāsobhīta I, Sainyabhīta II, Yāsobhīta II and Madhyamarāja. In the Khurda plate only three names occur, namely, Sainyabhīta, Yāsobhīta and Mādhavarāja^[4].

In the present plate we have Madhyamarāja, Dharmarāja or Mānabhīta, Madhyamarāja II, Raṇakṣobha or Raṇabhīta, Petavyāloparāja, Madhyamarāja the Third, the son of Yuvarāja Taillapanibha.

The epigraphs range over several centuries, the Ganjam plates of Śaśāṅka's feudatory being the earliest. Without going deep into the examination of the paleography of the plates, I may hazard a conjecture that in point of time, the Khurda plates come nearest to Ganjam, next come Bugura and next after Parikud; the present plate coming last. The writing on this plate very nearly approaches that on the Sulki plates; and therefore, it may be put down to the eleventh century. It would be premature, with the materials in hand, to attempt to construct a genealogy of the Śailodbhava dynasty for four or five centuries.

[1] Epi. Ind. Vol. III, p. 41 ff.

[2] Epi. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 143 ff.

[3] Epi. Ind. Vol. XI, p. 281 ff.

[4] J. A. S. B., 1904, 282 ff.

Line 1 [चन्व] वायुफ[ञा]न्मुभदावरताः केचिन्निराहारकाः ।

(इ) इत्थ ['] योगसुधो

2 विहाय व [ख] तीः (न्ति) ध्यायन्ति इत्थं पदम् (1)
चित्रं (चित्रं) मध्यमराजदेवगुण

3 धृत्राण्य' प्रितुः (त) प्राप्तवान् ॥

तस्याभवत्सकल शास्त्रविशेषवेदि
श्री धर्म

4 राज इति सूरुरधो (धि) तशास्त्रः ।
यस्यातिभिर्मलयशः परिवर्धमानं
पा

5 हौ हरेरिव न मायि न मत्वं लोके ॥
निराश्रयेः प्रयत्ने न गुणः स परिवा

6 रितः ।

वैमुखादीर्घ्या (दिरिषया) चैव सर्वदोषे ['] विवर्जितः ।
शौर्य' श्रीयौवनं रा

7 [य्यमे]ककं मदकारणं ।

सर्वैः श्रीमानभौ(भि)तस्य निर्विकारं म[नः]स्थितम् ।

8 [सक] लगुणार्जितकौ(कि)र्भि स्तस्याभूदौरसः तु यः सूरुः ।
श्री[मान्] मध्यम

9 राजो नियति मणि मुक्ता (मक्त)ली(लि, टपादयशः ॥

चौ (न्ति) रोहान्मधुसूदनं गतव

10 (ति) तो तस्मा(स्या)द्रघूणां (न) कुलं
याता या शशिनः (शशीनः) सुतेपि बहुधा मत्वं प्रवरा

11 सामपि

मत्वं वं कुलं दैतेत्यज्जनरपतेः (तिः) सामान्यभोग्यापुरा
सालक्ष्मीः (विष्ट) कृतवत्(?)

Line 12

+ स्रुत र [भव] च्छ्रीमानभौतात्मजः ॥

स्वारोत्खात कृपावर्णिर्मलकरपूयमाङ्ग तुंगोष्ठ

13

ता

वालेनैव [हि] + + येन रिपवः प्राप्तं मही (हि) [म] गडनं
स्वर्याति पितरि प्रत[र]पदिभवे ध

14

मै कनिष्ठः सदा

स श्रीमानपघोभयात्परिगतः (?) ख्यातिं चि (विस्त्र) तौ प्राप्तवान् ।

15

अरातिकरिक्कुम्भानां यस्यास्त्रि भिङ्गुरः करः ।

श्री र गच्छोभसंज्ञानं ततो

16

लोकोप्यचीचि (र) करतु

तस्मिन्नराति [ति] मिरप्रसरं विभिद्य

कृत्वा जनस्य

17

सफलामुदयेन चेष्टाम् ।

अस्तं समस्तजगदि कमहाप्रदीपे

भूमे

18

गते दिनकृती (ति) व विधिर्नियोगात् ॥

आता तस्य नमुन्द प्रत गिरे रत्नदिता (?) (Illegible)

19

द्रिच्युताः

पेतयाक्षपराज इत्यवनिप्रो जातः स शक्रोपम [ः] ।

को

20

प[र] कृष्टकृपाणमात्रकसुखः संख्ये विषित्य दिक्.

राजा स्वं पुनरुत्तरा

Line 21

दृगतमपि प्रापामलं यो यशः ॥ (r)

पक्षच्छे (च्छे) दभयात् भूभृदपरथापार

22

लोकोन्नते

गैम्भी (न्भि) राहुकस (स्व) त्वयोगमहिपाक्षवृद्धा पृथि (त) र्या ततः
तस्य

23

[श्री] युवराजतेस्त्वपनिभात् स (यम्) प्राप्तजन्मोदयः
भूयो [म] धमराज + + यशसा (शा)

24

[ब] ल्ये भवद्भू पतिः ॥

दर्पोद्धतो बलि (ली) रिपून् (पुं) समराडु [इत्य]

संयन्य मेरुजघनं

25

न्यजयि क्रमेण ।

लब्ध्वा जयश्रियमदभ्ररिपुप्रतापा [त्]

नारायणायितमिह

26

न्धि (विष्) तिपेन येन ॥

लोकालोकं बिलेय्य स्फुरद्भ्रम[ल]करोहामरक्षितप्रतागात्

शोभा (सभ) प्रा .

27

माश्रकाशभ्रमदुरु वितमः बंधि-च्छन्न मूतेः ॥

भूमेरालोकहेतो रिपुजघधि महामेखला भूतवक्त्रेः

कृत्स्नं व्याप्य प्रयातं करु [चि] हृषित [श्वेत] कृत्यं

28

द्विष्ट ॥

स्था स्थानादाप्तयंश्चार्द्धित वि (मि) षय यशो भीरु (भीर) [बा]

घ[1]मि सुक्तेः त (illegible) .

NOTE.—Owing to the Plate illustrating this Copper Plate grant not being yet received, it will be published in the September number of the Journal. It should be bound up in its place with this Paper.

VI—Grant of Ranastambhadeva.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.,
F. A. S. B.

This is another plate of Ranastambhadeva of Sulkikula. It has a seal affixed to it, surrounded by a raised rim. The seal contains a crescent moon, the letters Śrī Ranastambhadevasya and a standing bull. This inscription measures $8" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ and the seal $2" \times 1\frac{1}{2}"$. The letters in the seal are three-fifths of an inch in height each and those in the inscription are two-fifths of an inch in height each. The inscription seems to be incomplete from the space left after the second imprecatory verse.

The metrical portion of the inscription, containing invocation and genealogy, have verses which are common to all Sulki inscriptions. Like all grants of this family, this also was issued from Kodālaka. The officers addressed are the same as in other grants. The donee's name is Pauchuka, grand-son of Vāghu and son of Hari, belonging to the Kāṇva Śākha of the Yajur-veda. The date is given as the seventh day of the waxing moon of Āśvina. The land granted belonged to the village of Jārā in the district of Jārā in the Rādha Mandala. The boundaries of the land are given thus :—Chakalikabhūmi on the south-east, Stam-bhakarakettra on the East, Āhāra on the North. Jaura on the West and Chintābhūmi on the South. There are two very interesting points in this inscription, one is the name of the village where the land was granted and the village and the district from which the donee came. The land was granted in the district of Jārā and in the village of Jārā in the Rādha country. There is such a village in the district of Hughli bordering on the district of Midnapur, both of which belong to Rādha or Western Bengal. It is still the abode of a number of well-to-do families of Brāhmanas. But it would be worth

investigating how the Sulkis came to acquire land in this part of the country. There is an influential body of cultivating middlemen at Midnapore who call themselves Sukli and trace their origin to a place called Kedālaka. But Raṇaṣṭambha-
deva the donor was a Sulki and his capital was Kodālaka. Can there be any connection between Sulki and Sukli and Kodālaka and Kedālaka ?

The donee belongs to Kāśyapa Gottra and came from a village named Tellāṅgalabhaṭṭagrāma in the district of Rāḍha. He was a student of the Kāṇva Śākha of the Śukla Yajur-veda. But he cannot be a Rāḍhiya Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa Gottra, because among Rāḍhiya Brāhmaṇas, the only Veda studied was the Sāma Veda, and of the 15 villages from which the Brāhmaṇas of the Kāśyapa Go'tra among the Rāḍhis derive their village names, Tellāṅgalabhaṭṭa is not one.

1 ऽ खस्ति

जकलसुरसिद्धविद्याधर सु(म)कुटुम्बचरणान्न [ः ।]

ग्रन्थि (सवि) मणिमयूख [भासि]

2

सपिङ्गजटाभासुरी गिरिशः ॥

स्तम्भे शरीप्राप्तवरप्रसादात् श्री(शै)जीकुलेभूत् क्षितिप [ः]

क्षित [र]

3

रि [ः ।]

श्रीमां कंचनस्तम्भ इति प्रतीतः [स्फुरत् प्रतापोद्भूता-
पितारिः] ॥

भास्वद्विचित्रचन्द्रोष्णकचाराशोभैश्चै(चै)स्वदाशिव-

4

पुरप्रगमैकमार्गे [ः ।]

दे(दे)वाक्यैर्निजयशोधवदेरनेकैर्वात्मनस्त्रिदिवमुद्गमितो

5

चकीर्ति [ः ॥]

तस्यात्मनोभू[ञ्]चमदे(जो) कवी(वि)दः[ः] श्रीमां(कल)कुलस्तम्भ
इति क्षितौ(ति)नः ।

यस्योक्तसत्त्वख ?

6 ङ्गनिपातभोता[ः]समंततो यांति रणे दिषन्त [ः ॥]

यो राजचक्रतिलक[ः]खगुणं[१]शुपातैर्दि-

7 क्का(का)मिनीसुखमनोहरकर्णपूरै [ः]

संकुचिताहितवधूवदनारविन्दे दोषान्धकारभि

8 दुरैः (र) शुशुभे शशीव (युद्धमां सखिभे) ॥

तस्माद्गलोत्था(च्छा)रितवैरिवारिद[ः]पराक्रमाक्रान्तसमस्त-
दिग्गट[ः] ।

दा

9 नष्टव्याघ्रं करः प्रतीतिमां दिशवारणे न्नप्रतिभो भव[त्]

सुत[ः ॥]

कोदालोका (मण्डला)त्सदेव

10 दिजगुहचरणाशधन[१]सक्तचेता [ः]

श्रीमां (शृमां) दुर्वारवैरिप्रवर(प्रतिभव)करिघटाकुम्भकु

11 डा(टा)कबाहु [ः ॥]

विद्वद्भैकनिष्ठो जगति जगरिपु[ः]क्किमोपार्जितश्रीः (शृ)
श्रीमान्ना

12 नखङ्गप्रकटभुजबलत्रासिताशेष (सि) शत्रु [ः ॥]

परममाहेन्द्र[ः]समधिगतप्रचम

13 द्वाशब्द [ः] श्रीरत्नस्तम्भदेव[ः]कुश(ष)लो एतं म[ण्ड]

लेखिनभाविनो राज [१] नकराजपुत्रम

14 द्वासासन्नकुमारामाता(कुमारारणांमातृ)(१) यावदंतरंगा[न]

राजवल्लभ[१] नन्यान (२) पि कालाध्यासि यथारिहं

15 बोध[य]ति कुशलयत्यादिश(स)यति(ती) च विदितमस्तु

भवतां जाराखण्डे जाराग्रामे

16 पूर्वदक्षिणदिशा भागे चकलिकभूमिचतु[ः]सौ(सि)मापदन्त-

पूर्वदिशे स्तम्भकार

17 क्षेत्रसौ(सि) उत्त(त)रदिशे आहार दक्षिणादिसिम

पश्चिमदिश जौरसिम दक्षि

- 18 अदिशि चिंताभूमिस्मि एत(इत्तच)चतुः सीमापथेत
राजामण्डले तिष्ठ'गलभट्टया-
- 19 मविनिर्गतकाश्यपगोत्र काश्यपवाष्ठायनैभु वप्रवरयक्षुर्वेदा
चरणाका-
- 20 न्वशाखाध्य [I] यिन भट्टपुत्रवाङ्मनम्रेहरिस्त पौत्रुकस्य
अश्विनशुक्लपक्षे स
- 21 मन्य[I] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च(स्य) पुण्य(न्य) यशोभिदृढ-
(घ)ये ताम्ब्रशासनौकृत्य प्रदत्तोस्माभि [I]
- 22 यावच्चन्द्रार्कैतारका आचष्टभट्टप्रवेशसर्वाबाधविवर्जितेन [I]
उक्तं च स्वर्मशास्त्रे [II]
बहु
- 23 भिर्वसुधा रत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥
- 24 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरति वसुन्धरा[म्] ।
स विष्टार्या कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पथ्यते ॥

NOTE.—Owing to the Plate illustrating this Copper Plate grant not being yet received, it will be published in the September number of the Journal. It should be bound up in its place with this Paper.

VII—Khandadeuli Inscription of Rana- bhanja Deva.

By Mahamahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.

On 1st March, 1917, I received from H. H. Sir Edward Gait a copper-plate grant for decipherment. The copper-plate was found in August 1916 by some cowherds in the village Khandadeuli in pargana Khāntā of the Bāmanghātī subdivision of the Mayūrbhanj State. Babu Kāmākhyā Prasād Basu, a Deputy Collector in Mayurbhanj, gave a tentative reading of the plate and a note on it. His note and his reading also were forwarded to me and I have received much help from his labours. Recently the Bhañja grants have received a good deal of attention from Babu Bijaya Chandra Majumdār and Babu Rākhāl Dās Banerji. I have also consulted their papers.

Babu Kāmākhyā Prasād writes : “ This plate is of copper and in shape like a spade. It has a copper medallion on the top and in it are in bas-relief a svastika, a bull and a goddess. The letters are of late Kuṭila kind and resemble Bengali and Oriya letters. Its size is 9 inches long and 7 inches broad.” But at present the medallion appears to be absolutely illegible.

This is a grant apparently by Rana**bhañja** Deva, two of whose grants were obtained in 1871 from the same Bāmanghātī subdivision and deciphered by Babu Prātapa Chandra Ghosh. Rana**bhañja** made the grant on the occasion of the birth of a grandson named Narendrabhañja, the son of his “ *aupayika-puttra* ” or reputed son Pṛthvi Bhañja. He does not appear to be his “ *aurasa-puttra* ” or a son born in lawful wedlock. He may have been one of the twelve classes of sons allowed by Hindu law. The grant is made by Rana**bhañja** himself who is said to have exhorted landlords to respect the grant. And about

Narendra bhañja the plate says simply "*Narendrabhañjadevo bhūtaḥ*." The genealogy of the plate runs thus :—

Virabhadra,
Kottabhañja.

Digbhañja.

Ranabhañja, the grantor.

Prithvibhañja.

Narendrabhañja.

It does not appear how Babu R. D. Banerji has imported an Ādibhañja Deva between Virabhadra and Kottabhañja.¹ The grants simply speak of "*tasya ādibhañjavamṣe*". "*Tasya*" refers to Virabhadra: The construction is rather awkward. It is technically called *Ekadeśānvaya* and is regarded as a fault of style. It should have been "*tasya-ādibhañjasya vamṣe*". He is called *Bhañja* or *Adibhañja* because he broke through the egg of a peahen. The family therefore in the epigraphs often called *Andajavamṣa*, i.e., a family, the progenitor of which came out of an egg.

Ranabhañja belongs to Khijjing and he made this grant to Rāñchho, the son of Ananta and the great-grandson of Trivikrama. All these worthies are distinguished by the term Bhaṭṭa-puttra. They belong to Sāṇḍilya gottra and sādilya pravara, though the pravara name is differently spelt here. The name of the village is Bonulā in the *uttaragaṇḍa* in the district of *Sidhā-kimlā*. The grant was made in honour of Mahādeva Bhaṭṭāraka.

My predecessors in deciphering Bhañja inscriptions were in great difficulty and so were not always right in their reading. I have profited by their labours and I hope I am giving at least a more trustworthy transcript. For instance, my predecessors read *Koṭyāsrama* but my plate distinctly says *Kauṭāsrama*. They read the same word *Suladaṇḍa* in one plate and *Svarnaḍaṇḍa* in another, but it is really *Galad-aṇḍ*, the *breaking egg*. Instances may be multiplied, but it is of no use, as the plates themselves are very badly inscribed. In the present plate the inscriber seems

¹ J. B. O.R.S., Vol. III., Part iii, page 322.

to have traced all the letters with a minute needle, before he formally began the inscription and in some places both the minute and thick letters are visible. Just below the medallion traces of earlier letters are distinctly visible.

TRANSLATION.

Om Svasti ! The sole Lord of all the worlds, the Destroyer of the fear of re-birth, the Lord of Bhavānī, the Knower of the rules of various modes of meditation, the Omniscient Bhava may be auspicious to you. There was a breaker of an egg Virabhadra by name. He came out by breaking an egg of a peahen in the holy place, the great hermitage, the āsrama of Kautsa. He was skilled in destroying enemies and guided by the sage Vasishṭha. In this family of his who was the first of *Bhañjas* (egg-breakers), was born the auspicious and celebrated Kottabhañja who was like forest-fire to his enemies ; he was brave, pure and well-trained. His spirit was fierce like that of the sun, the benefactor of the lotus and of the goddess of prosperity. The sun exhibits the circle of rays, while the king exhibited the circle of his tributaries. His son was Digbhañja who placed his feet on the heads of great kings. His son was the celebrated Raṇabhañja, the resident in forts, belonging to the family of Khijjing, who had expiated his sins by the worship of the feet of Siva. He looked like the Cupid ; he was strong and weighty ; he was brave and he heightened his fame by defeating his enemies ; he was like King Yudhiṣṭhira, always engaged in governing his people and in performing noble acts. He, by name Raṇabhañja, speaks to the kings respectfully. His reputed son Prithvibhañja, whose son Narendrabhañja was born. For the increase of the merit and fame of father, mother and self by pouring water *and putting the deed on a* copper-plate in the name of the Lord Mahadeva, the village Bonula connected with the northern section of the district of Sidhahimbā is given by me to Bhattaputtra Rachho by name, the son of Bhattaputtra Ananta and the great-grandson of Bhattaputtra Trivikrama belonging to the Sāṇḍilya gottra with Sāṇḍilya pravara. There-

fore, out of respect for me you should uphold the grant of land till the moon, the sun and the earth last.

(The rest of the inscription is taken up with the usual impre-
catory verses with the exception of the letter "sa" which means
Samvat but the date is not given and there is no space to give
the date in the plate.)

1. ऽ खस्ति

सकलभुवनैकना

2.

• धो

भवभ(त)थभिदुरो भवो भवान् प्र [ः] ।

3.

विविधसमाधिविधिस्तः

सर्वलो वः शिवावास्तु ॥

आ

4.

सीत्कौत्सा(त्साः)श्रम

महातपोवनाधिष्ठाने ।

मय

5.

राखं भित्त्वा

गलदखो वीरभद्राख्यः ।

प्रतिपत्ता(प्रतिपत्त)

6.

निघनदत्तो

वसिष्ठमुनिचालितो नृपतिः ॥

7.

तस्यादिभंजवंशे

रिपुव[न]दावानलखात. [।]

शू

8.

रः शु(सु)चिर्विनोतो

जातः (तः ।) श्रीकोटभंजा[॥]ख्यः (ख्या.)

क

9.

मलोपकृद्रविरिव

दर्शितकरमंडलाग्रगु

10. रतेष्टाः ।
दिग्भं जस्तत्पुत्रो
वरभूष्टष्टिरसि कृ
11. तपादः ॥(1)
तस्यात्मजः] स्मरसमो बलवान्वरिष्ठः
12. शूरः समुन्नतयशाः प्रविजित्य शत्रून् ॥(2)
राजा युधि-
13. छिर इवावनिपाल (पाल पाल)ने च
नित्य['] रतः कु(लो) शूण-
14. , कर्मविधौ प्रसक्तः[॥]
खिज्जिं (जिं) कोटवासी
ग
हरचर
15. शाराधनक्षपितपापः (भ्यवितपापः) ।
श्रीरणभंजख्य[1]तः
16. साधुन(न्व) [यं] प्र[1]ह भूपालान् ॥०।
श्रीरणभंजख्यः
17. तस्य चो (चो)पयि(यो) ज्ञात्मज(जः) श्रीष्ट्वोभंजसुत-श्री
18. नरेन्द्रभंजदेवो भूतः । स च मातापित्रोरा-
19. त्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिदृष्टये सलिलधारया
20. ताम्रशालनीकृत्य भगवन्तं महादे-
21. वभङ्गारकमु(म) हिप्रय सिधाद्धिन्नाविशयप्रतिबद्ध उ
22. त्तरगण्डसंबद्ध बोलुला ग्रामः['] । श्राद्धिलगोत्र
23. सखिल प्रवर भटपुत्र त्रिविक्रमस्य पपौत्राय भ
24. टपुत्रव्यनन्तस्य पुत्राय भटपुत्र रान्धो व्याभिधा
25. नाय प्रतिपारित्ता अस्माभिः तदस्य (सद्दा) त्रौर
26. वत्तवाचन्नाकं क्षुतिरमकालं पालनीयं भवद्भि ['] [1]
27. उक्तं च धर्मशास्त्रे ॥
बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राज
भिः बगरा [1] दभिः ।
28. यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य

- 29 तस्य तदा (ग) फलम् ॥
मा भूदफलश्रंका व [ः] प
- 30 रदत्तेति पार्थिवाः ।
खदत्तमत्फलमानं त्वं
- 31 पयदत्तानुपालने ॥
खदत्तां वरदत्तं [ः] वा यो
- 32 हरेद्वसुधरा [ः] ।
स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभि [ः]
- 33 सह पच्यते ॥
अपरं च ————— (अचच)
चित्तिर्यं कुलटेव
- 34 बहुप्रिया
हतशरीरमिदं [च] विनश्यत् ।
सुकृ
- 35 तमत्र न चेत्क्रियते ध्रुवं
विपदि धस्यति वो
- 36 नु प्रयानलः ॥
इति कमलदलाम्बु बिन्दुलो (ल्लो)
- 37 लां
अ (श्री) यमनुवीक्ष्य (उदीक्ष्य) मनुष्यजीवितं च (न्द)
सकल मिद
- 38 सुदाहृतं [च] श्रुत्वा
न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तय [ः] विलोप्या [ः] ॥
सं

VIII.—Some Unpublished Records of the Sultans of Bengal.

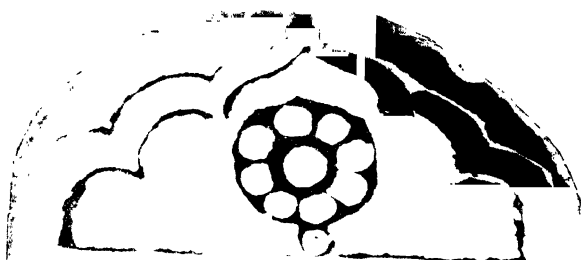
By R. D. Banerji, M. A.

The majority of these inscriptions were lying in the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the remainder were collected by me in 'Bihar and Orissa and in Bengal proper during the last fifteen years, except one inscription, a tombstone, which was found by Babu Nagendra Nath Basu in the Bogra District and presented by him to the Museum of the *Vahgīyā Sāhitya Parishad*. These inscriptions aid us in determining the area over which the Sultans of Bengal ruled as well as in calculating the extent of their reigns which differ in the accounts given by Muhammadan Historians.

I.—*Inscribed tombstone from Mahāsthāngaḍh.*

This inscription was found among the ruins of Mahāsthāngaḍh in the Bogra District of Bengal some years ago by Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu. It was presented by him to the *Baṅgīyā Sāhitya Parishad* in 1911 or 1912. There is no record in that Society about the exact findspot or the date of find and no attempt has ever been made by anybody to decipher it. The record is incised on one face of a slab of black flint, the top of which has been rounded. The inscribed surface has been divided into four rectangular sunken panels while in the space above is a cinquefoiled pointed arch with an eight-petalled lotus-rosette in it. The first three lines contain three lines of writing, while the fourth and the last has five. The slab measures 1'10" × 7¼" and the inscribed surface 1'4 ⅓" × 6¼".

Mahāsthāngaḍh is a well-known ruin in the Bogra District, where according to the discoverer, Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu, the record was found. It was visited by Cunningham and



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
مَا أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ
وَمَا أَكْبَرُ إِلَهُهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

يَعْلَمُ الْغُيُوبَ
لَهُ الْكُتُوبُ
وَلَهُ الْوُحْدَانُ
وَلَهُ الْمَقْدُونُ

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ
وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ
مَا أَكْبَرُ إِلَهُهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ
وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ
وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

described by him ¹. There is a shrine of a Muhammadan saint named *Mahisawār Sultān* here, but no Arabic inscription seems to have been discovered at this place before this. The inscription is one of the oldest records that has been found in Bengal proper. It was incised in A.H. 700 = 1300 A.D., *i.e.* during the reign of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Firūz Shah, son of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh (Bughdā Khān), the youngest son of Sultan Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban of Delhi. It records the erection of a tomb of the exalted and benevolent Nāwār Khān in the month of Shawwāl in 700 A.H. = 1300 A.D.

• TEXT.

- ١ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- ٢ قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم
- ٣ من قرأ آية الكرسي (لم يمنعه)
- ٤ من دخول الجنة إلا الموت *
- ٥ الله لا إله إلا هو العلي القدير
- ٦ لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في
- ٧ السموات وما في الأرض من ذي
- ٨ الذي يشفع عنده إلا بإذنه يعلم
- ٩ ما بين أيديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون
- ١٠ بشيء من علمه إلا بما شاء وسع كرسيه
- ١١ السموات والأرض ولا يؤده حفظهما
- ١٢ وهو العلي العظيم - بني هذا اندر خان لرو
- ١٣ خان معظم مكرم مير نامور خان
- ١٤ شهر شوال سنة سبعماية

II.—*Inscription from the Salik Masjid, Basirhat.*

This inscription was found in the interior of a Masjid in the town of Basirhat, District 24-Parganas of Bengal. The Masjid is situated at a distance of about one mile from the railway station and is in good preservation. It appears that a

Masjid was built in the year 871 = 1466-67 A.D. from materials taken from a stonebuilt Hindu temple; later on this ancient masjid was surrounded by a brick wall with modern doors and windows. A facsimile of the inscription, taken by me, was published by Rai Monomohan Chakravarti Bahadur in his article on "Pre-Mughal Mosques of Bengal".¹

The inscription is stuck in the interior of the mosque between two stone pillars, taken from some Hindu temple, close to the roof. The pillars are in good preservation with figures of *ganas* or dwarfs on the bracket capitals over it. Only these two pillars and the inscription have escaped modernization and white-wash. The inscribed surface measures 1'1" by $6\frac{3}{8}$ ". It records the erection of a mosque by a person with the title "the benevolent and exalted *Majlis*, the great *Majlis*" in the year 871 A.H. = 1466 A.D. In this year Sultān Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak Shāh, son of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh was reigning in Bengal. It was during his reign that the Hindu kingdoms on the Southern coast, which were so long protected from conquest by the impenetrable barrier of forests, were overthrown. Two records of this prince has been discovered in Southern Bengal; the first one is the Mirzāgunj inscription of the year 870² and the second record is the present one from Basirhat, of the year 871 A.D. The builder of this mosque appears to be the same person as that of the Bais-darwaza masjid at Pandua. In the Pandua inscription of 882 A.H. more elaborate titles are given but the proper name has been omitted.³

TEXT.

لا اله الا محمد رسول الله بنى هذا المسجد مجلس المعظم والمكرم مجلس اعظم
دامت عظمته سنة احدى وسبعين وثمانماية

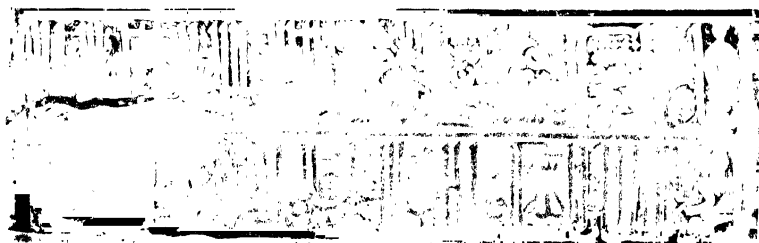
¹ *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. VI, p. 29 and note 1, plate.*

² *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, old Series, Vol. XXIX, p. 407.*

³ *Ibid Vol. XLII, 1873, I, p. 275.*



II. Inscription from Salik Masjid, Basirhat, 24 Parganas. - 871 A. H.



III. Inscription of the time of Rukn-uddin Barbak, A. H. 878, from Alawal's Masjid, Chittagong.



IV. Inscription of the time of Saif-uddin Firoz Shah, A. H. 895, Kalna, Dist. Burdwan.

III.—Inscription of 'Alawal's Masjid, Chittagong.

The inscription is stuck in the walls of a masjid with masonry walls and a thatched roof which is said to have been built on the site of an ancient masjid at Hathazari in the Chittagong District of Bengal. It is stated by the attendants that the masjid was built by the well-known Bengali poet Alāwal Khān and that the inscription was originally fixed over the entrance of the old mosque. The inscription itself does not mention 'Alawal Khān, but records the erection of a mosque by the *Majlis Alā Rāsti Khān* on the 5th day of Ranzān 878 A.H. = 1473 A.D. during the reign of Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh. So far as is known, this is the second authentic record of the Muhammadan conquest or occupation of Chittagong, the earliest being the silver coin of Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh struck at Chittagong in A.H. 834 = 1430 A.D. Therefore this inscription is the oldest Muhammadan inscription from the Chittagong Division.

یا مفتوح الابواب انه

۱ بنا ریح بست و پنجم ماه مبارک رمضان سنه ثمان و سبعین و

ثمانیة فی عهد السلطان رکن الدین ابرار (مظفر با) رکی
شاه السلطان

۲ ابن محمود شاه السلطان خاد الله ملکه و ساطانه * هذ المسجد مجاس اعلى
عليه الرحمة و الغفران بنا کردہ راستخان

IV.—Inscription of the time of Saif-ud-dīn Firōz Shāh from Kalna—A.H. 895.

This inscription was discovered in some ruined mosque in Kalna in the Burdwan District of Bengal. It was removed from the site to the Court-house at Kalna with the inscriptionⁿ of Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Bahādur Shāh of A.H. 967 and that of 'Alāud-dīn Firōz Shāh, A.H. 939.¹ There they remained till their removal to the Indian Museum in 1914² at the request of the late Dr. Th. Bloch, Ph. D., then Archæological Surveyor

¹ *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle, 1902-3, p. 3.*

² *Ibid, 1903-4, p. 4.*

of the Bengal Circle. The record has suffered very much from corrosion and nothing can be read besides the proper name of the king, the date and portions of the name of the builder. The date is distinctly A.H. 895 = 1489 A.D. and as the name of the king is Firūz Shāh, it is quite certain that the inscription is of the time of Abyssinian Eunuch Malik Andil, who assumed the title of Saif-ud-dīn Firūz Shāh. Not even a portion of the *Kunyah* can be read. The builder was an Ulugh, who was probably the son of one Ulugh 'Āli Zafār Khān. The inscription proves that the centre of Western Bengal was included in the possession of Saif-ud-din Firūz Shah. Another inscription of this king has been discovered at Maldah (No. 998 of Horowitz's list). The stone measures 1'10" × 9" × 5" and the inscribed surface measures 1'3" × 7½".

TEXT.

قال النبي عليه السلام (من بنى لله) مسجداً (فى الدنيا بنى الله له سبعين قصراً
فى الجنة بنى فى عهد) السلطان فيروز (شاه) السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ...
الغ على بنى خان ... خان ... الغ ... خمس و تسعين و ثمانمائة

V.—Inscription of 'Ala-ud-dīn Husain Shāh from some unknown place — A. H. 909.

The slab bearing this inscription has been lying in the Indian Museum for years. As there is no register number on the stone, no information about its findspot or the date of its removal to the Museum can be gathered from the scanty records of the earlier years of the existence of the Indian Museum. It is certain that it has not been published. The only records of the year 909, published up to date, are :—

- (1) The Inscription of Sikandar Lūdi, on the entrance doorway of the first story of the Qutb Minār (No. 464 of Horowitz's List), recording repairs to the Minār.¹
- (2) The inscription of the time of 'Ala-ud-dīn Husain Shāh, from Gaur, recording the erection of a gateway (No. 686 of Horowitz's List).²

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XIV, p. 847.

² *Ravenshaw's Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions*, p. 23.

- (3) Inscription of the time of the same king, from Cheran or Cherand, in the Saran District, recording the erection of a mosque (No. 1161 of Herowitz's List).¹

The second one cannot be the same as this inscription as it records the erection of a gateway (*Bāb*) while in the third one there is a similarity in the object of the record, the date and the name of the king but there is a good deal of difference between the wording of these two records:—

- (1) The word **الله** is written after مسجد in the Saran record while in the Indian Museum record it is written before that word.
- (2) The phrase **يبتغي** is omitted in the Saran record.
- (3) The word **الجامع** is omitted in the Indian Museum record.
- (4) In the Indian Museum inscription the king's adjectives are *al-'ālam* and *al-'ādil* instead of *al-mu'azzam* and *al-mukarram* of the Saran record.

The inscribed surface measures $2' 10\frac{3}{4}" \times 1' 3\frac{1}{4}" \times 4\frac{1}{2}"$. The purpose of the record was to commemorate the erection of a mosque by the learned and just Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh in the year A. H. 909 = 1503 A. D.

TEXT.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى لله مسجداً ويبتغي به وجه الله بنى الله له بيتاً
مثله في الجنة بنى هذا المسجد السلطان العالم العادل علا والدنيا والدين ابر المظفر حسن
شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه في سنة تسع و تسعين

VI.—Inscription on the Sarcophagus of Bābā Adam Kashmīrī, Alia, Mymensingh District.

The following inscription is to be found at the head end of the Sarcophagus of Shāhanshāh Bābā Adam Kashmīrī, who is called Bābā Kashmīrī in the inscription. According to this record the saint breathed his last on the 7th day of the month of Jumada-us-sāni in the year 913 (14th October 1507 A.D.).

¹ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870, p. 112.*

TEXT.

هرا الكافى

- ۲ وفات نامه بابا کشمير از دار
 ۳ فنا بدار بقا رحلت نمودند
 ۴ تاريخ هفتم ماه جمادى الثانى (الاخر)
 ۵ سن ثلث عشر و تسعمائة

*III & VIII.—Two inscriptions of the time of 'Alā-ud-dīn
 Husain Shāh.—916.*

The slab bearing these two inscriptions were most probably presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal during the earlier days of its existence. There is no record in the Archaeological Section about them and as the register numbers on them have disappeared there is no chance of determining their findspot. Most probably they were brought from the ruins of Gaur. In No. VII the inscribed surface measures $1' \frac{1}{8}'' \times 9\frac{1}{4}''$. It records the erection of a well during the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh in the year 916.

No. VII—TEXT.

قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بنى هذه السقاية السلطان المعظم المكرم
 ۲ علاؤالدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان ابن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلداله
 ملكه وسلطانه في سنة ست عشر وتسعمائة

In No. VIII the inscribed surface measures $1' 10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 10\frac{1}{4}''$. The object of the record and the wording being the same as No. VII, the only difference being the omission of the words "*ibn-Sayyid Ashraf-ul-Husaini*."

No. VIII—TEXT.

قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بنى هذه السقاية السلطان المعظم
 المكرم علاؤالدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه في سنة ست
 عشر وتسعمائة

*IX.—Inscription of the time of 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh from
 Mangalkot, District Burdwan.*

This inscription was found by me, lying in front of a modern masjid at Mangalkot. Local people differed in opinion about

وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ
 وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ
 وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ

وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ
 وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ
 وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ

VII. Inscription of the time of Alauddin Husain Shah, A. H. 916, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ
 وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ
 وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ

وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ
 وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ
 وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ

VIII. Inscription of the time of Alauddin Husain Shah, A. H. 916, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ
 وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ
 وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا فِي الْقُلُوبِ

its findspot and no certain information could be obtained. It was removed to the Indian Museum at the request of Mr. J. F. Blakiston, then Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle. The upper portion of this record has been damaged, the first line and the upper part of the second having broken away. The inscribed surface measures $1'4\frac{3}{4}"$ by $1'1\frac{3}{8}"$. The name of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh and the date, A.H. 916=1510 A.D., has been preserved.

TEXT.

المعظم المكرم علاؤالدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان ابن سيد اشرف الحسيني
خلداله ملكه و سلطانه فى سنة ست عشر وتسعمائة

X.—*Inscribed Pillar of the time of 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh.*

This inscription, which is incised on the back of a pillar, sawn lengthways, was also found in the inscription gallery of the Indian Museum, where there is no record about its findspot. It appears that two granite pillars were sawn lengthways in order to form the tablet of the inscription. Only one of these, *i. e.* one quarter of the inscription has been recovered. The object of the inscription was to record the erection of a gateway (*Bāb*) by a noble, a portion of whose titles were *Majlisul-Majālis Majlis Mansūr*, who was probably the same person as the builder of the Choṭā Sonā Masjid at Gaur. The Choṭā Sonā Masjid was built by *Majlis-ul-majālis Mansūr Ābū Muḥammad* son of Ābū 'Alī in the month of Rajab of some unknown year, during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh. The present inscription was incised on the 27th day of the month of Ramzan of some unknown year.

TEXT.

(١ س) الم والمسلمين (علاء) والدنيا والد (ين) ابوالمظفر حسين (شاه الس) لطله
(ن ابن سيد اشرف) الحسيني (خلداله) ملكه و (س) لطلانه باب المسجد
خالصا مخلصا ميم (لس المجلال) سس مجلس منصور نصره الله تعالى في الدنيا والاخرة
وتاريخه الميمون فى السابع والعشرين من شهر رمضان الذلي انزل (فيه الله) أن

XI.—*Inscription on four bricks from Gaur.*

This inscription is perhaps the only dated Muhammadan inscription on brick which bears the name of a sovereign of Bengal. Cunningham thought that the bricks would exactly fit in an empty panel over the door of Shaikh Ākhi Sirāj-ud-dīn's tomb at Gaur. ¹ There is no record in the Indian Museum about the provenance of these bricks. Cunningham read the king's name 'Āzam, but the facsimile will show that his name is Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh and that his father's name was Husain Shāh. Only one corner of the last brick is now to be seen in the Indian Museum, the rest bearing the words *shahar* and *tisamayāt* ² have disappeared. Dr. Horowitz in his list of the published Muhammadan inscriptions of India refers this record to the reign of Ghiyāth-ud-dīn 'Āzam Shāh, following Cunningham's version of the text. ³ The purport of this mutilated inscription was to record the erection of some building during the reign of Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh, son of 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh by a noble who was the Wazīr of the town of Muhammadabad. This town is a well-known mint-town of the Sultans of Bengal, but has not been satisfactorily identified as yet.

TEXT.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه (به) وس (لم من بنى مسجد الله) في (الدنيا بني الله له
 قصر في الجنة مثله في) عهد (السلطان) غيا (ث) الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه سلطان
 بن حسين شاه السلطان خا (د) الا (به) ملكه وسلطانه المعظم المكرم
 ملك مهابت بنده كمين وزير شهر محمود آباد في القا (ربح) تسعيا

XII.—*Inscription from the Dargāh of Shāh Juman Madārī*

at Hilsa.

This inscription, one of the very few known records discovered in Bihar of the time of the Emperor Farīd-ud-dīn

¹ *A. S. R., Volume XV, page 72.*

² *Ibid, Part XX.*

³ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1909-10, page 65, No. 379.*



X. Inscription of the time of Alauddin Husain Shah on a pillar. India Museum, Calcutta.



XI. Inscription of the time of Alauddin Husain Shah, A. H. 909, Indian Museum Calcutta.



XIV. Inscription of the time of Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur A. H. 967, from Kalna, Dist. Burdwan.

Shīr Shāh, is fixed over the doorway of the tomb of Shāh Juman Madārī at Hilsa in the Patna District of Bihar and Orissa. The record was noticed by Cunningham.¹ The attendants at the shrine did not allow me to take an inked estampage at the time of my visit so I am unable to present a facsimile of this record. It records the renovation of the tomb of the saint Mirān Sayyid Juman Madārī at the request of Sultan Sher Shāh under the supervision of Miyān Shaikh 'Alam 'Adam Shāh Juman Madārī, which was completed by Daryā Khān Zāngī Hūd Nūhānī Khās Khel on the 29th of Safar of A.H. 950 = 3rd June 1543 A.D.

TEXT.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله تذكروا موت

۲ گنبد بندگی حضرت میران سید جمن مداري قدس الله روحه بحضور

۳ بندگی میان شیخ عالم آدم شاه جمن مداري در عمل (ارباب)

۴ حضرت سلیمان شیر شاه سلطان خلدالله ملکه و سلطانه

۵ برآورده دریا خاص زنگی هود توحانی خاص خیل

۶ التاسع والعشرين من ماه صفر ختم الله بالغير والظفر

۷ سنه ۹۵۰ کار فرمان شمس مداري

Translation.

"In the name of God, the merciful, the forbearer! There is no God but Allah! This is the record of the renovation of the tomb of the slave His Holiness Mirān Sayyid Juman Madārī, may God sanctify his spirit. (This) was done, under the authority of the slave Miyān Shaikh 'Alam 'Adam Shāh Juman Madārī, at the instance of the Lord, (equal to) Solomon, Shīr Shāh Sultan, may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign. It was completed by Daryā Khān Zāngī Hūd Nūhānī Khās Khel. (The date of the record is) the 29th of Safar (May God end it with welfare and victory) the year 950. The work (was) done by order of Shams Madārī."

¹ A. S. R., Volume XI, page 164.

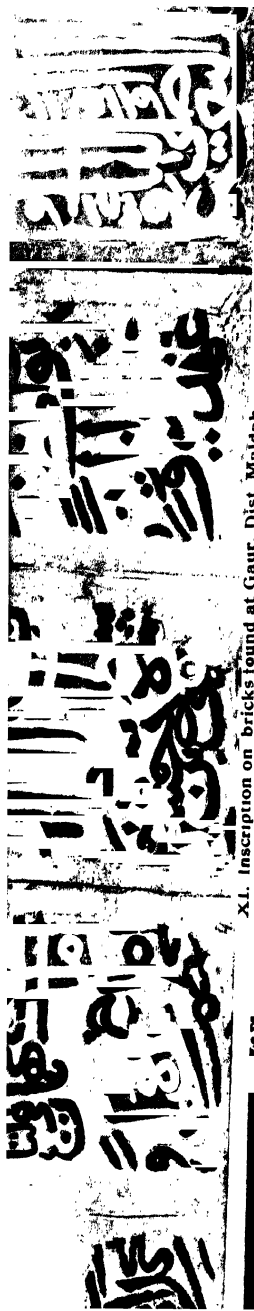
XIII.—Inscription of the time of Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Bahādur Shāh.—A. H. 967.

This inscription was found in the inscription room of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum without any label or number. Consequently, there is very little chance of determining its findspot. Most probably it comes from Bihar and was originally collected by the late A. M. Broadley for his Museum at Bayley Sarai in Bihar. Probably it was removed to Calcutta by the late Mr. P. C. Mukherji in 1895-96 when the entire collection at Bihar was transferred to the Indian Museum. The record has been incised on three different slabs of stone and the total inscribed surface measures $3'4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1'8''$. The writing is very beautiful and well executed and the record is in a very good state of preservation.

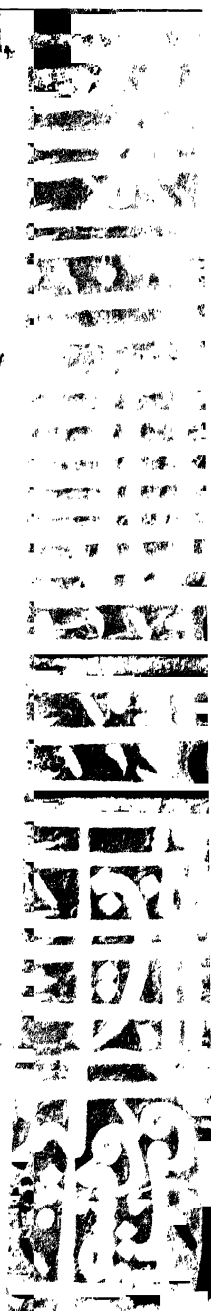
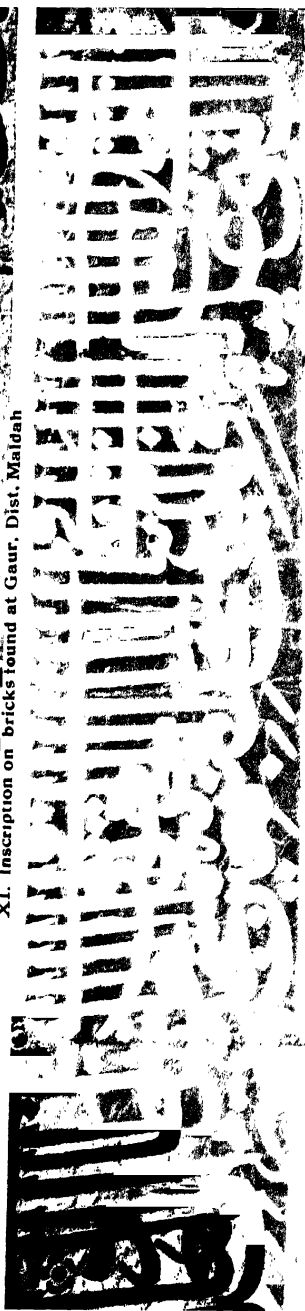
The record is one of great interest and it is one of the oldest inscriptions which contains a reference of Kararānī Afghans, who became prominent in the political sphere of North-eastern India immediately before its conquest by the Mughals. The inscription records the erection of a masjid by Masnad-i-'Āli Tāj Khān son of Jamāl Kararānī in A.H. 967=1559 A.D. Tāj Khān Kararānī comes into prominence during the reign of Sultān Muhammad Shāh Sūr, surnamed 'Ādli or Andhlī. He left the court of Muhammad Shāh at Gwalior on the day of the murder of Sarmist Khan Sarvānī, Shih Muhammad Farnulī and Sikandar Khān Farnulī in the audience hall of Muhammad Shāh 'Ādil. When Tāj Khān's flight became known, Muhammad Shah 'Ādil ordered his Hindu General, Hīmū to pursue him. Hīmū overtook Tāj Khān Kararānī at Chāprāmau¹ and defeated him. Tāj Khān then sought the shelter of his brother, Sulaimān Khān Kararānī in Bihar. Tāj Khān's brother, Sulaimān Kararānī, had been appointed Governor of Bihar by Islām Shāh in the year of his accession (945 A.H.=1532 A.D.)² and had

¹ *Elliot's History of India, Volume IV, page 506.*

² *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIV, 1875, Part I, page 295.*



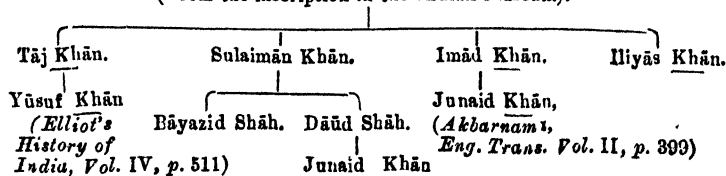
XI. Inscription on bricks found at Gaur, Dist. Maldah



continued as such. Both brothers helped Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Bahādur Shāh to overthrow Muhammad Shāh 'Adil, who was defeated and slain at Surajgaḍh on the Kiyūl River, Munger. This battle took place in A.H. 964=1557 A.D.¹ This inscription proves that up to the year 967 (1559 A. D.) they admitted the allegiance to the reigning sovereign of Bengal. Another interesting detail obtained from this inscription is the name of Tāj Khān and Sulaimān Khān Kararānī's father, Jamāl Khān. Though Masnad-i-'Ālī Tāj Khān and Hazrat-i-'Alā Miyān Sulaimān were prominent figures in the political arena of Northern India in the latter half of the sixteenth century, their father's name is seldom mentioned in well-known historical works of the period such as the Tārikh-i-Dāūdī or the Tārikh-i-Salātin-i-Afghānā. After the death of Ghiyāth-ud-dīn, Jalāl Shāh's son, a usurper named Ghiyāth-ud-dīn occupied Bengal.² In or about 971 A.H.=1563 A.D. Tāj Khān defeated and killed the usurper and occupied Gaur in the name of his brother Miyān Sulaimān.³ He died a year later in A.H. 972=1564 A.D.⁴ On his death Sulaimān removed his capital from Patna to Gaur. Tāj Khān had a son named Yūsuf Khān, who had married a daughter of the celebrated 'Afghān general Miyān Lūdi Khān and was killed by Dāūd Shāh Kararānī in or about 981 A.H.=1593 A.D. The following genealogical table can now be constructed on the basis of this inscription:—

JAMĀL KHĀN KARARĀNĪ.

(From the inscription in the Indian Museum).

¹ *Riyāz-us-Salātin, Eng. Trans., pages 148-149.*² *Ibid, page 150.*³ *Dorn's History of the Afghans, Part I, pages 179-180.*⁴ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1875, Part I, page 295.*

TEXT.

١ قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ومن بنى مسجد الله في الدنيا بني الله له سبعين
 قصرا في الجنة هذا المسجد بني في العهد السلطان العادل
 ٢ الباذل بهادر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه بانيه مسند عالي تاج خان
 جمال كراني في سنة سبع و ستين وتسعمائة

*XIV.—Inscription of the time of Ghyās-ud-dīn Bahādur Shāh
 from Kalna—A.H. 967.*

This¹ inscription was found along with the records of the time of 'Alā-ud-dīn Firuz and Nāsir-ud-dīn Māhmūd Shāh among some ruined Masjids in Kalnā in the Burdwan District of Bengal. The inscription was incised on the back of the lower part of an image of Vishnu. The slab bearing the inscription measures 1' 10" by 1' 4" and the inscribed surface 1' 9½" by 1' 3½". It records the erection of a masjid by some Sarwar Khān on the 10th of Zilhijja in A. H. 967 = 1559 A.D. during the reign of Sultān Ghiyas-ud-dīn Shah, son of Muhammad Shāh Ghazi.

TEXT.

١ قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا - قال عليه السلام
 من بني مسجد الله بني الله له في الجنة قصرا بني هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان
 العادل خليفة الله بالبرهان السلطان ابن السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر
 بهادر شاه سلطان

٣ ابن محمد شاه غازي خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه الباني دبیر المالك السلطان المسمى
 سرور و خان موار خاني العاشر من شهر المبارك ذي الحجة سنة سبع و ستين وتسعمائة

In conclusion I have to thank Mr. S. Khuda Bakhsh, D.S.P., Patna, for a number of valuable suggestions and corrections as well as for reading the proofsheets when the paper was passing through the press.

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, 1903-4, page 4.*

IX.—On the Use of the Swallow-worts in the Ritual, Sorcery, and Beechcraft of the Hindus and the Pre-Islamitic Arabs.

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

I.—Preliminary Remarks.

The swallow-worts are plants which belong to the Order *Asclepiadeæ*. There are two species of it, one bearing purple flowers, and the other white ones. The purple-flowered species is botanically known as *Calotropis gigantea* and is an erect spreading perennial shrub which grows plentifully on waste lands in Bengal, Assam and South India. It is also found in Ceylon, Singapore, the Malayan Peninsula and China. While the botanical name of the white-flowered species is *Calotropis procera* which is a slightly smaller plant and grows in the drier tracts, being found most plentifully in the Sub-Himalayan region from the Indus to the Ganges. It is also found in Central India, Rajputana, the Deccan and Upper Burma. Its distribution also extends to Persia and tropical Africa. Its Sanskrit name is *alarka*.

The Sanskrit name of the purple-flowered species appears to be *arka* which also means "the sun". Hence the synonyms of this plant are *arkapatra* *arkaparṇa*, *ādityapatra* and *sūryapatra*, all of which mean "the sun-leaf" or "the plant whose leaves (are as blinding and fierce as the rays of) the sun." The vernacular names of both the species of *Calotropis* are *madār* (derived from the Sanskrit *mandārd āk yercum*, *erukkam* *erukku*, *gekka*, etc., all of which appear to be derived from the Sanskrit name अर्क). This plant is described in the *Taliq-i-Sharif* as being

well known, for its many valuable properties, for which reason it is said to enjoy a high repute among the Indian medical practitioners.

II.—The use of the Swallow-Worts in the Ritual of the Hindus and of the Pre-Islamitic Arabs.

With reference to this plant, Sir George Watt says:—
 “One of the earliest European writers to describe this plant was Prosper Alpinus (*De Pl. Egypti*, 1592, ch. XXV). He tells us that it is the *beidelsar* of Alexandria, where it grows in damp places. Rheede was the earliest Indian botanist to narrate its properties (*Hort. Mal.*, 1679, ii., t. 31), and he furnished a most accurate drawing of it. He calls it *erieu*. Rumphius (*Herb. Amb.*, 1755, vii., 24, t. 14, f. 1) gives a poor illustration but describes the plant in great detail under the name of *mador*. Jones (*As. Res.*, 1798, iv., 267) deals with it under the name *arca*. Roxburgh placed it in the genus *Asclepias* and Robert Brown a little later assigned to it a separate position under *Calotropis*. *It is a sacred plant with certain Hindus, and is associated with the observances of the Maruts or Winds the demigods of Rudra. The ancient Arabs also appear to have had superstitious beliefs regarding it since they associated it with sun-worship. It is a popular tradition in many parts of India that the great Emperor Akbar was so named from having been born under the shade of an āk bush. It is the ushār of the Arabs and the khark of the Persians, but the former seems to be a generic word for milk-yielding plants and was possibly restricted to Calotropis at a comparatively late date. Abu Hanifeh was perhaps the first Arab writer to give an explicit account of it, but much useful information will be found in the writings of Ebn Baithar (Southeimer, transl., 1842, ii., 193).”**

In this connection, I may state that Davy, in his well-known Persian-English Dictionary (page 517), gives the meaning of the word *khark* as “a shrub resembling the *costus*.” Now

* *The Commercial Products of India*. By Sir George Watt, London, John Murray, 1908, page 205.

Costus—the *kut*, *kostum*, etc.,—is the *Saussurea lappa* (Order *Compositæ*), a tall and stout herb found in the valley of Kashmir and also in parts of the basins of the Chenab and Jhelum. It has been regarded as a very valuable medicine from a remote antiquity, is also used as a highly-prized perfume and is frequently employed as an incense in China.*

Now, it appears from the writing of M. Cl. Huart, a French ethnographer, that the plant *Calotropis procera* appears to be used in the rain-producing ceremony of the Pre-Islamitic Arabs. It is stated that "the pagan Arabs, when they demanded rain, took the plants *salâ* (*Scælanthus*) and *ochar* (*Calotropis procera*) fastened them to the tails of cows, applied fire to them, and carried the animals to a mountain. That was their manner of demanding rain from God, that is to say of proceeding to the ceremony of supplications." † [In this connection, I may say that *ochar* appears to be the same plant as the *ushar* of the Arabs mentioned by Sir George Watt, *supra*].

Another account based upon the testimony of the Arab lexicographers says that, for the purpose of obtaining rain in times of drought or in cases of the unfertility of the earth, the pagan Arabs used to hang to the tails of, or tie upon the backs of wild bulls or cows the plant called *Salaa* together with another called *ushar*, light a fire therein, and then to make these beasts climb upon a mountain or, according to some authorities, to drive them down from the same (*Vide Kamus and Sihah, S. V.,* سلع) ‡

It also appears from Davy's Persian-English Dictionary (page 339) that the pre-Islamitic Arabs used to perform a ceremony called *Taslia* in which they used to tie a lighted branch of the trees called *Salaa* and *ushar* to the tails of wild oxen and to make them descend the mountain with it, for the purpose of obtaining rain.

* *Op. cit.*, page 989.

† *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X.,* page 283.

‡ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 200-210.

In the aforementioned dictionary (page 710), the meaning of the word *سالم* (*Salaa*) is stated to be "a certain bitter tree or noxious plant; a sort of aloe." But the Arab botanist Abu Hanifeh, in his *Book of Plants*, has described it to be a plant which has long green leafless shoots, grows near a tree, then attaches itself to it, and climbs upon it by twining its slim stems round the branches thereof. *It bears black berries. It has, therefore, been thought that *salā* must be a parasitic plant, most likely a species of *Cuscuta* or Dodder, which is called, in the Indian vernaculars, *ākāsavallī* ("sky-creeper") and *ākāsamūlī* ("a plant having its roots in the sky"). It is used in medicine but, so far as I am aware, is not employed either in Indian rain-compelling ceremonies or in the worship of the Sun.

Then again in the said dictionary (page 856), *عشر* (*ushar*) is defined to be "a certain tree containing inflammatory matter, emitting better fire than any other kind. It is used in making bolsters; and from its blossoms and branches a certain kind of sugar is made. There is a bitterness also about it." But *ushar* is stated to be the Arabic and Persian name for the gigantic swallow-wort (*Calotropis gigantea*), though the author of the *Burhan* says that it is a Persian name for all plants which exude milky juices.*

This identification of *ushar* with the *Calotropis gigantea* is supported by Davy's statements that it is used in making bolsters and that there is also a bitterness about it. It is now well known that the coma of hairs or floss from its seed-capsules forms one of the so-called vegetable silks or silk-cottons which have been extensively used in India from the remotest times in the manufacture of silk-cotton textiles, and in stuffing quilts, pillows and cushions with for the purpose of making these latter very cool and refreshing. That the floss of the gigantic swallow-wort was (and is still occasionally) used in the manufacture of beautiful textiles—"Cloths of herbs", is borne out by the testimony of Cæsar Frederike who, writing about 1563-7 A. D.,

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., page 210.

refers to "a kinde of silke which groweth amongst the woodes without any labour of man, and when the bole thereof is growen round as bigge as an orange, then they take care onely to gather them". Then again, Ralph Fitch, who travelled in Orissa about 1585 A. D., speaks of "great store of cloth which is made of Grasse which they call *yerua*"—a word which is stated to be a corruption of the vernacular name used in Orissa and the Karnātaka, even at the present day, for the swallow-worts. The "*Hearbe Bengalen*" mentioned by Linschoten also appears to be a textile manufactured from the floss of this plant.

The correctness of Davy's statement that there is also a bitterness about this plant has been verified by recent chemical investigations made upon it, and will appear from the fact that it is used in the treatment of intermittent fevers especially if they are accompanied with eczematous eruptions and of dysentery. Now this medical property is due to the presence in this plant of an acid and bitter resinous matter. *

But Davy's statement that a kind of sugar is made from its blossoms and branches appears to be incorrect, for recent chemical researches made upon it have failed to detect the presence in it of any saccharine matter.

Now, on a consideration of the foregoing remarks made by Sir George Watt, M. Cl. Huart, the Arab and Persian lexicographers about the use of the swallow-worts in the ritual of the Hindus and of the Pre-Islamitic Arabs, the following question arises :—

Whether the *Calotropis* or swallow-wort was used in the alleged pagan Arab worship of the Sun or in the rain-compelling ceremonies of the Hindus and the Pre-Islamitic Arabs ?

In answering the preceding question, I shall have to discuss the origin and the functions of the Maruts in the hierarchy of the Hindu gods.

Now Diti was a daughter of Daksha Prajāpati, who became one of the wives of Kasyapa, and mother of the Daityas.

* Watt's *The Commercial Products of India* (London edition of 1908), p. 206.

She is called the general mother of the Titans and all malevolent beings. Having lost her children, she prayed to her husband, the sage Kasyapa, to grant her a son who should possess indomitable courage and destroy Indra. He granted his wife the prayed-for boon, subject to one condition, namely that she should be *enceinte* for one hundred years, and strictly perform all religious rites during the whole period of her pregnancy. She agreed to do so and, during the whole time of gestation, rigidly observed all the rules of mental and bodily purity. Indra got information of her intentions and made up his mind to frustrate the same. His deityship bided his opportunity for doing so. At last, in the last year of the period of pregnancy, the opportunity presented itself. One night, Diti turned in to sleep without performing the prescribed ablution of her feet. Finding her fast asleep, Indra divided the fœtus in her womb into seven portions. Thus mutilated, the child wept bitterly. Not being able to hush it to silence, his deityship again subdivided each of the seven parts into seven bits, and thus engendered the swift-moving deities called Maruts or the Winds. They derived their name from the words with which Indra tried to silence the mutilated child in Diti's womb, namely, "*Marodih*" i. e., "*Do not weep*". Thereafter they became forty-nine godlings subordinate to, and the associates of, Indra the wielder of the thunderbolt.

Whenever the rains hold off, and the stricken denizens of this earth appeal to Indra—the Jupiter Pluvius of the Hindu Pantheon—for sending down the life-giving showers, he "*hurries off escorted by troops of Maruts*, and sometimes attended by his faithful comrade Vishnu, to encounter the hostile powers in the atmosphere, who malevolently shut up the watery treasures in the clouds. These demons of drought, called by a variety of names, as Vrittra, Ahi, Sushna, Namuchi, Pipru, Sambara, Urana, etc., armed, on their side also, with every variety of celestial artillery, attempt but in vain, to resist the onset of the gods. Heaven and earth quake with

affright at the crash of Indra's thunder. The enemies of Indra are speedily pierced and shattered by the discharge of his iron shafts. *The waters released from their imprisonment, descend in torrents to the earth, fill all the rivers and roll along to the ocean.* The gloom which had overspread the sky is dispersed. " *

It will thus be seen that the Maruts, or the Winds, actively co-operate with Indra in the production of rain—in releasing the pent-up waters of heaven and causing the same to drop, in the form of gentle rain, upon the earth below. It has been said that " their share in the production of rain, and their fierce and impetuous nature are figurative representations of physical phenomena."†

We should, therefore interpret Sir George Watt's statement that the "*Calotropis* is associated with the observances of the Maruts or Winds, the demigods of Rudra" as meaning that it is used by the Hindus in the ceremony for rain-compelling. [Dr. Dymock, however, says that, in the Vedic period, the leaves of the swallow-worts were used in the worship of the Sun (but unfortunately, no authority has been cited by him in support of the foregoing statement), and that, even at present, in Western India, the Maruts are worshipped on Saturdays with the offering of wreaths made of the flowers of this plant]‡ But I cannot accept as correct Sir G. Watt's statement to the effect that it was associated by the pre-Islamitic Arabs with Sun-worship, as he has not cited any authority which bears out its correctness. On the other hand M. Cl. Huart has quoted several passages from the writings of some pre-Islamitic Arab poets which describe the rain-ceremony in which the plant *Calotropis procera* was tied by the pagan Arabs to the tails of cows and set fire to, and then the animals were taken to the mountains.

* *A Classical Dictionary of India.* By John Garrett, Madras, Higginbotham and Company, 1871, p. 265.

† *Op. cit.*, page 387.

‡ *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. II, p. 210.

This ceremony of the pagan Arabs was known as the *Taslia* and its prevalence among them is also conclusively proved by the testimony of the Arab lexicographers and Davy's *Persian-English Dictionary*.

The swallow-worts possess the peculiarity of growing upon barren lands, and the capability of thriving thereupon and bearing bunches of lovely flowers and the cotton-yielding capsules, *even without being irrigated with water*. Presumably they were used in the rain-compelling ceremonies of the Hindus and the pre-Islamitic Arabs to symbolize the fact that, just as these plants flourish without being watered, the people suffering from drought may, in like manner, thrive even though the rain-god may not vouchsafe to give them rain.

This pre-Islamitic Arab ritual for rain-compelling should be compared with the very curious ceremony performed by the ancient Romans on the occasion of the festival of *Cerealia* which used to be performed on the 19th April, in honour of the Earth-goddess Ceres which was specially connected with the growth of corn. It was the tying-up of burning fire-brands to the tails of foxes which were then let loose in the Circus Maximus. This is surely an instance of sympathetic magic most likely symbolizing, as Wissowa thinks, the continuance of sunshine, the wakening-up of the vegetation-spirit to stimulate the growth of the crops.

The incident of setting fire to the branches of the swallow-worts tied to the tails of or upon the backs of wild oxen or kine is closely parallel to the custom which is stated to be current among the Hindus of burning the *arka* or the *calotropis* as one of the kinds of *samadh* on fuel on the occasion of performing the *Samadhhoma* or the sacrificial ceremony of burning fuel before the fire-god † [Here again no authority has been cited in support of the preceding statement].

Then again, the purple-flowered swallow-wort (*calotropis gigantea*) is used in the marriage-ritual of the Hindus at the

* Vide Warde Fowler's *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero* (Edition of 1908), pp. 303-301.

† Vide the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, vol. II, p. 210

present day. In the Punjab it is considered unlucky for a Hindu to marry for the third time. If he wishes to take unto himself a third wife, he is, first of all, married to a *babul* tree (*Acacia arabica*) or to an *āk* plant [*Asclepias (calotropis) gigantea*] so that the woman whom he afterwards marries is counted as his fourth wife. By the performance of this quaint rite, the evil results of marrying a third time are nullified. * Similarly, in the regions about the Lower Himalayas, if anybody is desirous of uniting himself in wedlock with a third wife, no matter whether his other wives may be alive or not he has, first of all, to marry an *āk* plant [*Asclepias (calotropis) gigantea*]. He erects an altar near the plant or fetches home a branch thereof which he places near that altar. The symbolical wedding ceremony is then gone through by winding a thread ten times round the plant to the accompaniment of the recital of suitable verses. The plant remains for four days at the spot where it is stuck into the earth. Then on the fifth day, the intending bridegroom is at liberty to go through the actual marriage-ceremony with his third wife. ** The same Hindu custom of marrying an *arka* plant or the swallow-wort before entering into wedlock with a third human wife is also prevalent in Southern India. † But a somewhat different practice appears to be in vogue in Western India where a person who has lost three wives must make his fourth marriage with this plant before he unites himself in matrimony with a fourth human wife. ‡

Then the leaves of the swallow-wort are extensively used by the Brahmans in Southern India in the worship of the Sun. On the *Rathasaptamī* day, every Hindu in Southern India is enjoined to place upon his head and shoulders some leaves of the *arka* or swallow-wort as also a mixture of rice and sesamum

* *Punjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. II, p. 42.

** *Vide Crooke's An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Edition of 1894), pages 259-260.

† *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. VII, page 91.

‡ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, page 211.

and then to bathe by way of propitiating the Sun deity. In another religious ceremony—the *Samavedinipākrama*—the representations of the *rishis* are made by placing handfuls of wet sand or mud on *arka* leaves. §

In Western India, this plant is employed in the worship of the goddess Sati or Durga, the spouse of Śiva, the Paurāṇik Rudra, who is believed to settle the destiny of new-born infants. Then again, it is customary for parturient women to invoke the assistance of the *arka* plant or swallow-wort for granting them easy delivery. A coin of small value and a *virā* (most likely a prepared packet of betel leaf, lime and spices) are offered to this plant whereof a leaf is plucked and placed upon the head of the woman praying to it for aid and then returned to its parent plant. *

The swallow-wort also appears to be employed in the agricultural ceremonies of Western India, for it is stated that the "*Calotropis* is the *kul* or *arbor generationis* of the Bhandaris, the well-being of whose cocoanut trees depends so much upon a favourable condition of the elements." *

This plant is also used in the agricultural ceremonies of Northern India. In the eastern districts of the Punjab, especially in Karnal, the winnowed grain is gathered into a heap with a good deal of precaution, for otherwise it is apprehended that the malignant spirits will rob the same. One man sits with his face towards the north and, sticking a ploughshare into the earth, places two round balls of cowdung on the ground on either side of it. This plough-coulter is said to symbolize *Shāod Mātā* or "the goddess of fertility" Then a branch of the *āk* or gigantic swallow-wort (*Calotropis*) and some shoots of the *dub* grass (*cynodon dactylon*) are offered to it. †

In the Etawah district of the United Provinces the aforementioned rites are performed with some variation.

§ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, page 91.

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, page 211.

† *Karnal Settlement Report*. By J. Wilson. Lahore, 1886, page 173.

The cultivator places three spans off to the north of the heap of winnowed grain, a threshing floor rake, a bullock's muzzle, and a rope. Thereafter, in the space between these articles and the pile of grain he places a small offering, composed of some ears of grain, some leaves of the gigantic swallow wort and a few flowers. This offering is placed on a piece of cow-dung cake. *

III.—*The use of the swallow-worts in the sorcery of the Hindus.*

The swallow-wort is also used in the concoction of different kinds of charms and in the performance of various incantations as will appear from the following examples :—

(1)

प्रवेताकंदुग्धं तस्मात्तिलचूयसमन्वितं ।

अर्कपत्रेषु विन्यस्तं मूषिकान्तकारं यथे ॥

Translation.

(1)

If urid pulse (*Phaseolus mungo*) and powdered gingelly or sesame (*Sesamum indicum*) be mixed with the milk or juice of the white-flowered swallow-wort (*Calotropis procera*), and the mixture is plastered over the leaves of the same plant and then placed in a room, it will not be infested by rats and mice.

(2)

मषायां ब्रह्मार्कं क्षेत्रे स्थापयेन्मधुयुग्मेयुतम् ।

मूषिकान्तकारिकायाञ्च जायते सुखवन्धनम् ॥

Translation.

(2)

If the roots of the white-flowered swallow-wort (*Calotropis procera*) be plucked up while the *Maghā* asterism is in the ascendant, and placed with liquorice (*Glycyrrhiza glabra*) in a field, the mouths of the insects and the rats will be shut up, that is to say, they will be unable to injure the crops.

* Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*. (Allahabad Edition of 1894.) Pages 385-6.

(2)

अर्कतुलमयीं वसिं भावयेत्तावकेन च ।

दीपं तत्कृतैस्तेन निःशेषा यान्ति मत्सृगाः ॥

Translation.

(3)

If a wick be made of the cotton of the swallow-wort (*Calotropis*), placed in the acrid oil of the same plant, and then lit up, all the bed-bugs will be destroyed.

(8)

गुडश्रीवासभक्षातविडङ्गचिपलायुतं ।

साक्षारसोऽर्कपुष्पश्च धूपो दृष्टिकसर्पघ्नः ॥

Translation.

(4)

If molasses, Sandalwood, wood of the *bhela* tree (*Semecarpus anacardium*), *bidānga* (a kind of drug), *trifalā* on the chebulic myrobalan [*haritakī* (*Terminalia chebula*)], the beleric myrobalan [*bayaḍā* or *baherā* (*Terminalia belerica*)], and the emblic myrobalan [*āmlakī* (*Phyllanthus emblica*)], lac-dye, and the flowers of the swallow-wort be burnt, the smoke thereof will destroy scorpions and snakes.

(5)

षोडशाङ्गुलकं कीलं क्षतिहायां खितार्कजम् ।

शौक्षिकस्य ग्रहे क्षिप्तं मदिरां नाशयत्यनम् ॥

Translation.

(5)

If a rod, which is as long as the width of sixteen fingers, be made of the wood of the white-flowered swallow-wort (*Calotropis procera*) while the *Krittikā* asterism is in the ascendant, and then thrown into the shop of a wine-seller, all his wine will be destroyed.

(६)

कामसिद्धि प्रकरण ।

पुष्पाङ्कं तु समागच्छ मूर्त्तं चैताङ्कसम्भवं ।
 अङ्गुष्ठप्रतिमां तस्य प्रतिमांश्च प्रपूजयेत् ॥
 गन्धनायस्वस्त्यान् भक्ष्या रक्ताश्वमारजैः ।
 कुसुमैश्चापि गन्धार्घ्यैर्हविष्याग्नी जितेन्द्रियः ॥
 पूजयेत्तन्मूर्त्तं तद्वाजानि नमोऽन्तकैः ।
 यान् यान् प्रार्थयते कामान् मासैरेव भूतान् जमेत् ॥
 प्रत्येकं कामसिद्धयार्थं मासमेकं प्रपूजयेत् ॥

गणेशजीजमाह ।

पञ्चान्तर्कं श्रीं अन्तरीक्षाय स्वाहा । अनेन पूजयेत् ।
 श्रीं ह्रीं पूर्वदयां श्रीं ह्रीं षट् स्वाहा ।
 अनेन मन्त्रेण रक्ताश्वमारपुष्पाणि घृतक्षौद्रयुतानि
 जह्यात् । वाञ्छितात् ददाति । श्रीं ह्रीं श्रीं मानसे
 सिद्धिकरि ह्रीं नमः । अनेन मन्त्रेण रक्तकुसुमेकं
 जप्ता नित्यं क्षिपेत् । एवं जप्यं जपेत् ।
 ततो भगवतो वरदा अष्टगुणं तामेकगुणं ददाति ।

Translation.

(6)

Incantation for the fulfilment of one's desires.—On a Sunday when the *Pushyā* asterism is in the ascendant, you should take a root of the white-flowered swallow-wort (*Calotropis procera*), measuring one finger long, and paint on it an image of the deity Gaṇeśa measuring one thumb long. Then you should take a meal of boiled *arwā* rice and boiled vegetables only, and be pure in body and mind. Then you should, with great devotion, worship the said image of Gaṇeśa with offerings of red oleander flowers (*Nerium odorum*) and perfumes etc., to the accompaniment of the recital of the *mantram* पञ्चान्तर्कं श्रीं अन्तरीक्षाय स्वाहा. Then you should mix the red oleander flowers with *ghee* (clarified butter) and honey and then offer the same to the sacrificial fire,

reciting, at the same time, the *mantram* ओं ह्रीं पूर्वदयां ओं ह्रीं पट्ट
हवाहा. If these rites are performed duly one's desires will be fulfilled in the course of one month. But for the fulfilment of every separate desire, this worship will have to be performed for one month at a time. Moreover, every day, after reciting the *mantram* ओं ह्रीं श्रीं मानसे विद्विक्कुरि ह्रीं नमः over a red flower, the same should be offered to the deity Ganeśa. If this *mantram* is recited one hundred thousand times, the goddess Bhagavati, the giver of boons, will be satisfied and grant the prayed for boons.

(9)

प्रवेतार्कं लाङ्गलीवचा लाङ्गली विषमुष्टिका ।

तुल्यं तुल्यं प्रसूयार्थं ज्ञानप्रयत्नं ॥

घस्तुरफलमध्वे स्त्रमेकीकृत्य प्रयोजयेत् ।

कामवानमिदं खातं भोजने ~~कामप्रदं~~ ॥

उक्तानां सर्वयोगानां चण्डमन्त्रेण मन्त्रयेत् ।

विधयन्ति नात्र सन्देहः पूर्ववेद्यायुते किल ॥

Charms for Winning a Woman's Love.

Translation.

(7)

Take equal quantities of the white-flowered swallow-wort (*ca'otropis procera*), *lingolikā* (a kind of poison), *vacha* or the sweet-flag (*Acorus calamus*) and roots of the sensitive plant (*mimosa pudica*), pound them all and mix the same with the milk of a bitch. Then place the mixture within a fruit of the datura plant (*Datura stramonium*). This mixture or drug acts as an arrow of the god of love. If you administer it with food to any woman, she will be subject to your influence, you should also use the *chanda-mantra* with the aforementioned *yogas*. If the *mantram* be recited ten thousand times the charm is sure to be successful.

A variant of the charm for bringing a woman under one's influence is as follows:—

(८)

सोमर(जीरवेर्मूलं मूलं वा चक्रमहं ।
कटिस्थं नरनार्योन्मार् परवशकरं ॥

Translation.

(8)

If a person, whether male or female, wears on his or her waist the plant called *somarāji* or *somrāja*—the Purple Flea-bane [*Fernonia (Conyza) anthelmintica*], or the root of the swallow-wort (*Calotropis*) or the root of the plant called *chākutīya* or, in Sanskrit, *chakramarda* [—ring-worm-destroyer—the Fœtid Cassia (*Cassia tora*)], a woman or man will come under his or her influence.

Then we come to the following charm which is of quite another description:—

(९)

पुष्याक्षचं समावाप्य प्रवेताकंमूलमुद्धरेत् ।
तथावर्धं कटौ बद्धा रमये च तथेव च ॥

Translation.

(9)

If the root of the white-flowered swallow-wort (*Calotropis procera*) he plucked up while the *Pushyā* asterism is in the ascendant, and then worn on the waist, the wearer will be able to stop the seminal emission at his will.

Then there is the undermentioned charm for stopping the mouth of an enemy :—

(१०)

अर्कपत्रे हरितालरसेन यस्य नामाभिलिख्य उद्यानमध्ये
ईशानकोटि स्थापयेत् तस्य मुखबन्धनस्तम्भं भवति ।

Translation.

(10)

If you write the name of any person on the leaf of the swallow-wort (*Calotropis*) with orpiment or yellow arsenic, and

place it in the north-east corner of (his) garden, the mouth of that person will be stopped.

IV.—The use of the swallow-worts in the Leechcraft of the Hindus.

I shall now deal with the recipes or prescriptions for the nostrums or folk-medicines used in the leechcraft of the Hindus, into the composition of which the swallow-wort enters. The first group of these recipes treats of the nostrums for the cure of scorpion-stings and dog-bites and consists of the following :—

(११)

शिरिषबीजं गोमेदः दाडिमस्य च मूत्रकम् ।
अर्कचौरयुतं हन्ति भूपो हस्तिपकं विषम् ॥

Translation.

(11)

If the seeds of the *Sirisha* tree (*Albizzia lebbek*), the lard of bulls and cows, and the roots of the pomegranate tree (*Punica granatum*) are mixed with the milk of the swallow-wort (*Calotropis*) and burnt, the smoke thereof will destroy the venom of scorpion-stings and allay the pain caused thereby.

(१२)

सिक्थकं सप्तधा भाजं चक्षुकं पयसा तपे ।
तप्तम् बज्जिना स्पर्ष्टुं दंष्ट्रस्थाने विषं हरेत् ॥

Translation.

(12)

If a little bees' wax be exposed seven times to the steam of the milk of the *manca sij* plant (*Euphorbia neriifolia*) and the swallow-wort (*Calotropis*), then heated over a fire and then applied to the part of the body stung by a scorpion, it will expel the venom of the scorpion-sting.

(१३)

गुडं तैलार्कदुग्धञ्च लेपाच्छनोर्विषं हरेत् ।

Translation.

(3)

If molasses, oil and the milk of the swallow-wort (*Calotropis*) be mixed together and then plastered over the part of the body bitten by a dog, it will destroy the venom of the dog-bite.

The second group of recipes prescribes nostrums for the cure of ear-ache, and includes the following :—

(१४)

नीलीजम्बरसे तैलं खिद्धं काञ्जिचंदुम् ।

कटुष्यपूरयात् कर्णे निःशेषक्रिमिनाशनम् ॥

Translation.

(14)

If the juice of the roots of the purple-flowered swallow-wort (*Calotropis gigantea*) be mixed with *canji* or rice-gruel and then boiled in oil and then poured, while hot, into the ear, it will destroy the worms therein.

The following is another nostrum for the cure of ear-ache :—

(१५)

अर्कपत्रं यष्टित्वा तु मन्दामौ तापयेच्छनः ।

निविष्य पूरयेत् कर्णे कर्णशूलं विनश्यति ॥

Translations.

(15)

If the leaves of the swallow-wort (*Calotropis*) be roasted over a fire and then the juice, which should be expressed from them, be poured into the ears, ear-ache will be cured immediately.

The third group consists of recipes for the concoction of nostrums for the cure of tooth-ache, elephantiasis and white-leprosy. These are three in number and are as follows :—

(14)

अर्कपत्रेण तप्तं न दन्ते स्वेदश्च कारयेत् ।

तदा न पतन्ति दन्ताः, बकुलत्वक्चर्चव्यात् ॥

Translation.

(16)

If the teeth be fomented with the heated leaves of the swallow-wort (*Calotropis*) or if the bark of the *bakula* tree (*Mimusops elengi*) be chewed, they will not fall off. The swallow-wort is also used in the composition of the undermentioned folk-medicine for the cure of elephantiasis :—

(17)

अर्कमूलं समुत्पाद्य उत्तरे चार्कवासरे ।

तन्मूलं स्य रक्तसूत्रेण धारयात् प्रलीपद्वये ॥

बलाचातिबला कोष्ठ केपवात् प्रलीपद्वयः ॥

Translation.

(17)

If, on a Sunday, standing with your face towards the north, you pluck up the root of the swallow-wort (*Calotropis*) and wear the same tied with a red string it may cure elephantiasis. Or if *bala* or *pila-bere'a* (*Sida carpinifolia*) *atibila* or *sweet-berelá* or *lal-berela* (*Sida rhombifolia*) and *lodh* (*Symplocos racemosa*) be ground together into a paste and then plastered over the affected legs, elephantiasis may be cured.

Then come the following recipe for the cure of white leprosy :—

(18)

ग्राह्येतिहासो हृत्वा तत्तल्लवार्कचौरकां ।

कदलीपत्रं शुष्कं चार्कं कृत्वा तु लेपनं ॥

प्रवेतकुष्ठं चयं कुर्यात् प्राचिश्रावस्य मलकां ॥

Translation.

(18)

If *kusa* grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*), the chebulic or black myrobalan (*Terminalia chebula*), the *durba* grass (*Cynodon dactylon*), rice, the milk or juice of the swallow-wort (*Calotropis*) and the plantain (*Musa sapientum*) are made into a semi-liquid paste and plastered over the affected parts of the body, leprosy is cured. If the roots of the *Sachi sag* (a kind of pot-herb) are also taken, white leprosy is cured.*

It will appear from an examination of the incantations Nos. 2, 6 and 9, mentioned above, that the indispensable condition for plucking up the roots of the swallow-wort is that the asterisms *Maghā* and *Pushyā* must be in the ascendant at that time while the charm No. 5 requires that the rod of the wood of the swallow-wort should be made during the ascendancy of the *Krittika* asterism. Similarly, the indispensable conditions for performing the Bihuri incantation for killing a person † and for making an enemy restless ‡ are that these should be concocted or performed while the *Parvīśhaḍhā* and *Pushyā* asterisms are in the ascendant

In his *Simon Lee the Old Huntsman*, Wordsworth says :—

“ O reader ; had you in your mind such stores as silent thought can bring, O gentle reader ; you would find a tale in everything. ”

So the thoughtful reader may very patiently ask :

* The aforementioned eighteen charms and nostrums are included in a small old book in Sanskrit which is stated to have been obtained at Badarikāśram, the well-known pilgrimage-place in the Himalayas, from a *sādhu* who hailed from the Telugu country. It is entitled *Rakṣaśaṣṭānam* (রাক্ষাশাষ্ট্যনাম) and has been reprinted in Bengali script with red ink by Jahariāl Datta from No. 75-1, Abiribola Street, Calcutta. The publisher says that the reason for reprinting it in red ink is that the efficacy of these charms and nostrums may not be destroyed, which, it is apprehended, may happen in the event of its being printed in black ink.

† *Vide* the *Journal of the Anthropological Society* of Bombay, Vol. IX, page 515.

‡ *Op. cit.*, Vol. IX, page 518.

"Why are the periods of ascendancy of the aforementioned asterisms selected for the performance of the incantations mentioned above?"

In order to answer the question, I shall have to discuss the supposed characteristics of the lunar asterisms as are set forth in Hindu astrology.

Now, the lunar orbit is made up of twenty-seven divisions, each marking the moon's motion in one lunar day. The Hindu astrologers attach good or malignant influence to each of them as will appear from the following list of the principal stars included in these twenty-seven lunar mansions or asterisms in the moon's path, these are otherwise known as the Nakshatra-yoginīs who are stated in Hindu mythology to have been the twenty-seven daughters of Dakṣa Prajāpati, and who subsequently became the virtuous wives of the moon.*

Name of the Asterism.	Nature of the influence exercised by it.
1 <i>Āsvini</i> (The Ram's Head) ... [It is so called because its configuration resembles that of a horse's head. The Hindu month <i>Āvin</i> has derived its name from this asterism].	Good [People born under its influence become happy, prosperous and devotedly attached to their wives.]
2 <i>Bharāṇi</i> ...	
3 <i>Kṛttikā</i> (Pleiades) [She is fabled to have brought up Pārvatī's son Kārtika, the Hindu god of war. The Hindu month <i>Kārtika</i> has derived its name from this asterism].	Very bad.
4 <i>Rohiṇī</i> (Hyades)	
	Good.

* These twenty-seven asterisms are classified into three groups, namely, *deva* (or *divine*), *manuṣya* (or *human*), and *rakṣasa* (or *savage*), and are said to exercise their influences especially with regard to marriages. If the would-be bridegroom and bride are born under the influence of asterisms of the same group, the marriage is a desirable and good one. If one of the parties to be married be born in the ascendancy of an asterism belonging to the *divine* group, and the other under that of an asterism of the *human* group, the marriage may be permitted to take place. But the union in wedlock of a person born under the influence of an asterism of the *divine* group, with another born in the ascendancy of a *nakṣatra* of the *savage* category, may not be allowed to come off. [Garrett's *Classical Dictionary of India* (Madras Edition of 1871), pages 411—412.]

Name of the Asterism.	Nature of the Influence exercised by it.	
5 <i>Mrigasirā</i> or <i>Mrigatirsha</i> (A triple star)	...	Good.
6 <i>Ārdrā</i> (One star)	Bad.
7 <i>Punarvasu</i> (Four stars)...	...	Good.
8 <i>Pushyā</i> (Nebula in Cancer)	<p data-bbox="660 328 917 539">Good. [Rama, the semi-divine King of Ajodhya is stated to have been born while this asterism was in the ascendant as will appear from the following :—</p> <p data-bbox="684 544 917 792">“The morning dawned with cloudless ray. On Pushya's high auspicious day, And Cancer with benignant power* Looked down on Rama's natal hour.”*</p>
9 <i>Āśleṣha</i> (Five stars)	
10 <i>Maghā</i> (Or Leonis)	Good.
11 <i>Pūrva phālgunī</i> (Two stars)	Medium.
12 <i>Uttara phālgunī</i> (Two stars)	Medium.
13 <i>Hastā</i> (Five stars)	Good.
14 <i>Chitrā</i> (One star)	Bad.
15 <i>Svātī</i> (One star)	Good.
16 <i>Viśākhā</i> (Four stars)	Bad.
17 <i>Anurādhā</i> (Four stars)	Good.
18 <i>Jyēṣṭhā</i> (Three stars)	Bad.

* *A Classical Dictionary of India.* By John Garrett. Madras : Higginbotham & Co., 1871, page 494.

Name of the Asterism.	Nature of the influence exercised by it.
19 <i>Mula</i> (Eleven stars Cor. Scorpionis)	... Very bad.
20 <i>Pārvāśhāḍhā</i> (Four stars) ...	... Medium.
21 <i>Uttarāśhāḍhā</i> (Three stars) ...	... Good.
22 <i>Śravaṇā</i> (Three stars) ...	... Good.
23 <i>Dhanishṭhā</i> (Four stars) ...	... Bad.
24 <i>Satabhiṣhā</i> (A hundred stars) ...	... Bad.
25 <i>Pārvabhādrapada</i> or <i>Pārvabhādrapadā</i> } (Two stars).	Medium.
26 <i>Uttarabhādrapada</i> or <i>Uttarabhādrapadā</i> } (Two stars).	Medium.
27 <i>Revati</i> (thirty-two stars) ...	... Good

From the foregoing list it would appear that the asterisms *Maghā* and *Pushyā* exercise a beneficent influence upon human beings and their actions ; while that of *Parvāśhāḍhā* is medium, that is to say, neither good nor bad. Therefore, the periods of their ascendancy appear to have been selected for the performance of the incantations Nos. 2, 6 and 9 and the Bihari charms described *supra*. But the asterism *Kṛittikā* exercises a very malevolent influence upon men and their doings. As the foregoing incantation No. 5 comes within the category of nefarious sorcery, I think that the period of the ascendancy of this particularly evil asterism—*Kṛittikā*—appears to have been selected for its performance.

It will further appear from the texts of the incantations Nos. 6 and 17 that Sundays have been prescribed for the plucking-up of the roots of the swallow-worts required for the purpose of concocting the said charms. I have already shown that the early morning of a Sunday is considered very favourable for the performance of magic and exorcism-ceremonies.* Similarly, the Bihari incantation for making an enemy restless requires that the branch of the *Ficus glomerata* tree should be cut very early in the morning of a Sunday.†

* *Vide the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (N.S.), Vol. XI, page 219.*

† *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. IX, pages 518-519.*

A noteworthy feature of the incantation No. 17 described above is that the person plucking up the roots of the swallow-wort is required to *stand with his face towards the north*. Most likely this has to be done by way of doing obeisance to the gods, for the north is the abode of the deities. This posture is also an indispensable condition imposed upon the chief celebrant in some of the agricultural ceremonies of Northern India. For instance, in the eastern districts of the Punjab, especially in Karnāl, the winnowed grain is gathered into a heap with a good deal of precaution. One man *sits with his face towards the north* and, sticking a ploughshare into the earth places two round balls of cowdung on the ground on either side of it.* Then again, in the Etawah district of the United Provinces, the cultivator performing the ceremonies for heaping up grain after it has been cleaned by winnowing, *makes, on the conclusion of the rites an obeisance towards the north—apparently the abode of the deities—and mumbles a prayer.*†

* *Vide* my article *On Secrecy and Silence in North Indian Agricultural Ceremonies* in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (N. S.), Vol. XIII, page 31.

† *Op. cit.*, page 33.

X.—Birth, Childhood and Puberty Ceremonies among the Birhōrs.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

The Birhōr's idea of life is one of continuous progress from stage to stage. At each successive stage—from birth and infancy through adolescence, youth and married state, to old age,—the Birhōr regards himself as gradually gaining in strength to combat supernatural evil influences that surround him on all sides till at length Death lands him on to the highest stage of existence when man is transformed into an ethereal spirit—no longer subject to supernatural spiritual influences but himself powerful to influence man for good and evil alike. The main object of the customary rites and ceremonies observed by the Birhōr at the passage from one state of life to another would appear to be to relieve him from some of the harmful spiritual influences peculiar to the outgoing stage and apt to cling to him in the new stage and infect human beings who are in intimate touch with him,—to purify him and his surroundings including his relatives and neighbours,—to break all ties with the old state and to assimilate his nature to the new state of life he is entering.

At no stage of life is a human being more exposed to supernatural evil influences than while still in the mother's womb, at birth, and during infancy. Many, therefore, are the precautions and rites that a pregnant and parturient Birhōr woman, her family and community are required to observe.

I.—OBSERVANCES DURING PREGNANCY.

The observances that have to be attended to during the pregnancy of a Birhōr woman, appear to fall into three classes,—those meant to protect the mother and the child in the womb

from danger arising from the spirit-world, those designed to avert the evil eye and other deleterious influences proceeding from human beings, and lastly those intended to avert dangers due to physical causes. The first class of precautions have to be taken sometimes by the pregnant woman alone and sometimes by both herself and her husband, and the other two by the woman alone. The neighbours of the parturient woman have also to observe certain precautions to avoid the infectious taints likely to proceed from her.

To avoid danger from the spirit-world, the inmates of the house must abstain from invoking any spirits and offering any sacrifices in the house during the pregnancy of a woman of the family. The head of an animal or fowl sacrificed to the spirits is always taboo to a Birhör woman. But during his wife's pregnancy her husband too must abstain from eating the head of an animal or fowl sacrificed to any spirit or the head of any animal or fowl obtained by hunting. A breach of this taboo is believed to endanger the whole community. Should either the husband or the wife eat such meat, the men of the *ṭāṇḍā* are sure to have ill-success in hunting. And to propitiate the spirits in such a case, the husband must supply the Nāyā with one pig, two goats, and five fowls to be sacrificed a little away from the huts. Apart from this taboo against such flesh diet the Birhör husband is not required to observe any other rules of diet or behaviour during his wife's pregnancy. The practice of couvade is unknown. The woman must take care not to lie down in the courtyard or other open space lest spirits and a particular species of bird called the *Puni* bird might fly across her. It is believed that should such spirits as a Muā or a Māleeh fly across the woman, the child in the womb will be either still-born or deformed. And the flight of a *Puni* bird across her is believed to injure some limb of the child in the womb or cause '*puni-dukh*' to it which will make it pine away. Nor must the woman go near rivers and streams where *churils* or spirits of women who died during pregnancy or in childbirth are supposed to dwell. To avoid the evil eye, she must cover her womb

with a cloth while going out of her house. To prevent the entrance of dangerous influences, she must neither touch nor see a human corpse, nor even see the smoke rising from a funeral pyre. She must therefore keep indoors when a cremation is going on within sight of her *tāṇḍā*. She must also keep indoors when lightning flashes are seen and the sound of thunder is heard. The prohibitions against eating stale rice and against crossing a river during pregnancy may be meant merely to avoid physical dangers; but it is not unlikely that they are intended to avert certain super-physical dangerous influences as well.

II.—DIFFICULT LABOUR.

The Birhōr ascribes difficult labour either to the evil eye or to some sexual sin in the woman or to the anger of some evil spirit. And for each of these classes of impediments a different set of remedies is adopted. To counteract the evil eye as well as to neutralize the effect of sin which hampers delivery certain magical rites are performed; and to propitiate the obstructive spirits sacrifices are offered. In difficult labour, magical rites are first tried, and, if these fail, the ghost-finder or *Māti* is consulted and sacrifices are offered to the spirit who is supposed to impede delivery. Among magical rites performed to facilitate delivery the following may be mentioned. If the woman during her pregnancy happened to close the cover of any earthen vessel or vessels with mud or other similar substance, such covers are taken out. Or if she happened to have filled up with earth any holes, or cracks in the floor of her hut, these holes and cracks are opened up again. If these fail to bring about delivery, a handful of rice is waved over the head of the pregnant woman in the name successively of each supposed witch and then fried in an earthen pan. If this too fails to remove the impediment, the midwife mentally names one after another each man who may possibly have been in intrigue with the woman and be the real father of the child in the womb and at each name throws a grain of rice on her. It is believed that as soon as the adulterer is named (mentally),

delivery takes place. It is said that the ancestor-spirits of the family cause difficult labour to an adultress in order that her guilt may be detected in this way. If all these expedients fail to bring about a speedy delivery, the ghost-finder or *Mā'i* is sent for to find out by the examination of a handful of rice which spirit is hampering delivery. If it is a spirit of an established position to whom sacrifices are ordinarily offered who is found to obstruct delivery, a vow is taken of making the proper sacrifices in case of speedy delivery, and if it is only a stray spirit the *Mā'i* takes up a handful of rice, waves it round the head of the woman and while naming the spirit in question throws it away as if towards the spirit.

III.—SEX OF UNBORN BABES.

If a woman becomes thin during pregnancy, it is said she will bear a male child; if otherwise, a female. Blackish knots in the umbilical cord are supposed to indicate the total number of male children the woman will bear and reddish white knots the number of female children.

IV.—THE BIRTH.

When labour-pains come on, the men leave the hut as their presence is believed to hinder delivery, and only a few women remain. The woman who acts as midwife sometimes rubs oil over the womb to facilitate delivery. One end of the hut is partitioned off to serve as the lying-in room and here the delivery takes place. Soon after birth a new door is opened at that end for the use of the midwife for seven days after the birth, and for the use of the parturient woman for a period varying amongst different clans from three to six weeks. The pathway from this new door up to a little distance is in most clans fenced off on both sides with hedges made of branches of trees so that the shadow of the parturient woman and the midwife may not fall on and pollute or endanger their neighbours or their houses. These branches are burnt by the midwife (*Kusŕai*n) after the first seven days of impurity. In a

few clans, such as the Āṇḍi and the Shāmjhākoā (which are really of mixed Birhōr blood) a new door is not opened; whereas in at least one of the wildest of Uṭhlū clans, an altogether separate hut is erected for the mother and its baby, where the baby is born without the help of any midwife or other person; and nobody visits them there nor are they allowed to come near others during the period of impurity. If the placenta is delayed in coming out, the root of a certain plant is suspended from the woman's neck on a string. A copper coin is held below the navel and on this the navel string is cut with an arrow-head or a razor. The navel string and the placenta are now taken up in a leaf-cup and buried just outside the threshold of the hut in a hole about a cubit deep. The Birhōrs assert that the reason why the after-birth is thus buried and secreted is that should a dog or other animal eat it up the mother will sicken and die. If this hole is deep, the difference between the age of the present baby and its next brother or sister will be long, and if the hole be shallow, the difference will be short. The stump of the umbilical cord, when it dries up and falls off, is also buried just outside the threshold, but not so deep; it is asserted that should it be eaten up by any animal, the child will sicken and die. If the stump of the navel string is buried deep, the teeth of the baby, it is said, will be late in appearing; but if the stump is buried just below the surface, the baby will teethe early.

As soon as a baby is born, the midwife rubs a mixture of oil, pounded turmeric and powdered rice-husk over its limbs and bathes the babe in tepid water. The following day at about noon the mother drinks water in which *kurthi* pulse (*Dolichos biflorus*) has been boiled. This is meant to hasten the flow of milk at her breasts. If this does not serve its purpose, recourse will be had to the following rite. The following morning the husband of the woman will bathe in some spring or stream and come home with a jug of water which he will place in front of his hut. A piece of burning charcoal is also sometimes placed by its side, and over it a little gum of the *sal* tree will be sprinkled,

The husband will then take up the jug of water in his hands and slowly pour the water standing with his face towards the Sun and saying, "O Sing Bōngā, I am making this libation of water to thee. May milk flow from her breast like this [water I am pouring]. I vow to offer you 'milk flower' ⁽¹⁾ when my desire is fulfilled." After the *Thaṭhi* ceremony, which will be described later on, the husband will, with the same rites, offer a libation of cow's milk on the same spot, saying "I offer this milk in fulfilment of the vow I took while I poured water in the name of (i.e., in place of) milk".

From the second day after delivery she will have a meal of hot rice and a soup of *rahar* (*Cajanus Indicus*) pulse every evening.

On the day of birth,—or on the following morning if the birth has taken place at night,—the men of the *lāṇḍā* go out with their nets for a hunt with a view to testing the future luck of the new-born babe.

V.—THE DAYS OF IMPURITY.

Generally for twenty-one days after birth mother and child are considered impure or, to put it more correctly, remain in the taboo state. In some clans the taboo state continues longer. During this period the new-born babe and its mother are secluded in a corner of the family hut which is partitioned off from the rest of the hut unless, as among the Kāwān clan, a separate leaf hut is erected for the purpose. In most clans, as we have already seen, a new doorway is made for this portion of the hut for the use of the parturient woman and the midwife, and long fencings of twigs are put up on both sides of the pathway leading to it. The meals of the parturient woman are brought to her outside this new doorway and she takes them in, and, after having eaten her meals, washes the plate and puts it out to be taken away. The female attendants at birth go out by this new door after the delivery, take a purificatory bath and, in some (particularly *Jāghī*) *lāṇḍās*, have their persons sprinkled over

(1) This is an euphemism for 'cow's milk'.

with water in which copper and leaves of the *Tulsi* (the sacred basil) plant have been dipped. During the first seven days after a birth, the whole *ṭāṇḍā* is in the taboo state, during which no *Pujā* or sacrificial feast can be celebrated in the *ṭāṇḍā* at all; but as for the family of the new-born babe this taboo against *Pujās* has to be observed by them for three weeks longer. By way of a threat to evil spirits that may otherwise harm the baby or its mother, the iron instrument, if any, with which the navel-string may have been cut, or a sickle or knife, is placed under the cloth or other thing which serves as their pillow. This instrument is taken away by the midwife on the occasion of the *ṭhaṭhi* ceremony on the seventh day after birth, and is replaced by a new knife or sickle. After the days of impurity are over, this instrument is laid out in the open during a lunar eclipse and finally made into an anklet or armlet which is to serve as an amulet to protect the child from the evil eye or evil spirit.

VI.—THE *THATHI* OR FIRST PURIFICATION.

The *ṭhaṭhi* ceremony held on the seventh day from the date of the birth, is meant for the final purification of the other members of the *ṭāṇḍā* and the preliminary purification of the newborn child and its mother and of the other members of the particular family. Until then, as we have seen, there can be no *pūjā* in the *ṭāṇḍā*. On the *ṭhaṭhi* day, men of the child's clan living in the *ṭāṇḍā* have their nails pared, and their beards and the edges of the hair round the head shaved. Last of all, the father of the baby will be similarly shaved. The women of the clan also will have their nails pared, the nails of the mother of the baby being pared last of all. Finally the baby will have its head shaved. This shaved-off hair of the baby is considered unclean (*chhūt*) and is taken in a leaf-cup to the side of some tank or stream and left there. Then the men, and, after them, the women go out for a purificatory bath. The mother with the midwife, who has in the meanwhile put on the floor of the lying-in room a coating of mud diluted in water and on the new pathway between the fences a coating of cowdung diluted in water, brings up

the rear. The clothes used in the lying-in room are boiled that morning in water mixed with ashes. The palm-leaf mat and the bedstead, if any, used in the lying-in room are taken to a stream, immersed in water for a whole day, anointed with a little oil and pounded turmeric and taken back to the lying-in room for use until the final purification on the twenty-first day or later.

The mother of the baby returns home with water dripping from the hair of her head and squeezes out this water into the mouth of her baby, accompanying her action with a blessing on the child. If it is a male child, she says—"May you never feel thirsty when you go out for a hunt or are engaged in making ropes", and, if it is a female child, she says "May you never feel thirsty when you may be gathering leaves and tubers in the jungles". When all return home after bathing, the babe's mother washes the legs and feet of her husband, anoints them with oil and turmeric-paste, again washes the legs from below the knees, and then clasping one of his legs with her hands asks him—"What will you give me"? The husband either presents her with a new cloth or promises to give her one. She now bows down to her husband by touching his feet, and from a distance makes obeisance to the elders of the *ṣāṇḍā* assembled before her hut.

Then the *Nāyā*, with his face to the east, offers a red fowl to *Chowrāsi Pāhār Parbat* (the eighty-four hills and mountains) who are invoked by name and believed to assemble at the invocation, and one black fowl to *Mahālī Chāti* (who is said to be the mistress of the spirit of Lugu Pāhār). The fowls are held with their faces to the east. While offering these sacrifices the *Nāyā* says, "I offer this fowl in the name of the new human being that has come to us. May health attend the baby and good luck in chase attend the people of the *ṣāṇḍā*". At each of the two spots where the two fowls are sacrificed, the *Nāyā*, still facing east, drops a little rice-beer from a leaf-cup. It is believed that unless these sacrifices are offered, the birth-taboo will continue and the men of the *ṣāṇḍā* will have bad luck in the chase. The *Nāyā* gets

the two sacrificed fowls as his remuneration and he roasts them there and then. After the sacrifices have been offered, a pot of oil is passed round amongst the guests. Each guest dips the tips of his fingers in the oil which he rubs over his face, and also into his ears. The assembled guests are then treated to two jars of rice-beer. Before they begin drinking, the eldest member of the clan takes up in his hands a leaf-cup filled with rice-beer and speaks as follows :—"A wind arose in the east; clouds gathered in the west; rain came down on the ground; the tank (*bāndh*) got filled to the brim. When the tank was full, we wondered whether the tank contained a crocodile, or a fish, or a snake. Then the embankment burst, and we discovered it contained a human child. Now then we shall take it into our *Jāt*. May the child live up to a ripe old age (*rel pāṇru rutā panru*)". After having done justice to the two jars of rice-beer, the guests return to their respective houses.

VII.—THE CHHOTĀ THEATHHI.

Generally on the twenty-first day after birth, but in some clans later, the final purification ceremony is performed. The mother of the baby boils in water and ashes the clothes hitherto used by the mother and babe in the lying-in room, and another woman of the family similarly cleanses the clothes of the other members of the family; and in every family in the *ṭāṇḍā* some woman similarly cleanses the clothes of the members of her family. The baby's head is shaved, and the mat used by the baby and its mother is cast aside. The new door of the lying-in room is then closed up, the whole house is cleansed with mud or cowdung diluted in water, and all the members of the family take a ceremonial bath. The head of the family offers the sacrifice of a red fowl and a libation of rice-beer to the spirits of his ancestors and prays for the health and longevity of the baby. The mother with the baby in her arms goes to the *thhāns* or spirit-seats of her husband's family and then to the *thhāns* of the other families of the *ṭāṇḍā* and bows to all the ghosts of all the *thhāns*.

VIII.—THE 'SĀKI' OR NAME-GIVING CEREMONY.

On the morning following the *Chhōtā Thhāthhi* day, a name is selected for the child in the following manner. A bowl of water is placed on the open space in front of the hut which has been cleaned with mud diluted in water and where the men of the *tāṇḍā* have assembled. A handful of rice and a blade of tender grass (*dāḍ*) are placed on the ground as *sāki* or witnesses to the ceremony. A grain of *til* (*sesamum*) seed to represent the baby is first dropped into the water of the bowl, and then a grain of *dhān* or unhusked rice representing the paternal grand-father (whether dead or alive) of the baby is similarly dropped into the same bowl. If the *til* seed and the grain of *dhān* float on till they meet, the baby is named after his paternal grand-father. If they sink down without meeting, the process is repeated with a *til*-seed representing the baby and grains of *dhān* to represent other relatives one after another until the grains meet. The name of the relative in whose name the grains meet, is selected for the child. If the relative whose name is selected is alive and present, he anoints the child with oil and presents it with one or two copper coins and a necklet of black beads. This man is called the *Sāki* of the child. If the *sāki* is a person who does not belong to the family, he is treated to a hearty dinner that day with plenty of liquor. One jar of rice-beer called the *sāki-hāṇḍi* has been specially brewed for the purpose.

On this day, a *māti* utters some incantations over a few grains of mustard which are then tied up in a rag and fastened with raw thread round the neck of the baby. This serves as an amulet to protect the baby from the evil eye and evil spirits and is worn until the ear-piercing ceremony. The Birhōr believes that a man always takes after his *sāki*. Thus, if one's *sāki* is a *māti*, he too will turn out to be a *māti*; if one's *sāki* has married only one wife, he too will have no more than one wife, but if the *sāki* has married two or three wives he too will do the same. If the name selected is that of a relative (such as her husband's elder brother whose name is taboo to the baby's mother), a second name—sometimes derived from the day of the week on which

the child was born—is also selected. As a matter of fact, however, I found almost every Birhōr having two, and, in a few cases, more than two names. Out of eighteen Birhōrs whose *sāki* names I particularly noted, twelve were named after their paternal grandfathers, one after his paternal great-grandfather, four after their maternal grandfathers, and one after his father's elder brother. One of these only had no second name, one had two names besides his *sāki*-name and the rest had each one other name besides his *sāki* name. Their names are given below :—

<i>Sāki</i> -name			Other name.
Thepō	...	...	... Būdhū.
Narsing	...	...	... Lengā, Mangal.
Akal	...	...	... Būrkā.
Dibrū	...	...	... Gūlibaha.
Sukhlāl	...	...	... Lijō.
Chāhālā	...	...	... Rābdā.
Bhāṇḍāri	...	...	... Rāgāi.
Balarām	..	...	... Gādi
Bhim	...	...	... Arjun.
Rābōd	...	...	... Chāhālā
Kālā	...	...	... Sanicharwā
Punan	...	...	... (no other name).
<i>Sāki</i> -name			Other name.
Sukhrām	...	...	... Lāngṛā
Birsai	...	...	... Māli.
Sunūā	...	...	... Akal.
Budhu	...	...	... Sāona.
Ripū	...	...	... Mighū.
Mahādeo	...	...	... Jeredpeter.

Where a man has another name besides his *sāki* name, he is ordinarily called by the other name. In the case of twin children, if both are male, they are generally named 'Ram' and 'Lachman'; if both are female they are named 'Gāngi' and 'Jauni'; and if one of the twins is a male and the other female, the male child is named either 'Rar.' or 'Lachmar.'

according as it happens to be the elder or the younger of the twins, and similarly the female child is named either 'Gāngi' or 'Jauni' according as it is the elder or the younger of the twins. But the *sāki* ceremony will be duly gone through and *sāki* names selected as usual.

IX.—THE TUKUI-LUTUR OR EAR-PIERCING CEREMONY.

The ears of the child are ceremonially perforated generally in the month of *Aghān* (November) following the birth. A quantity of rice-flour is prepared and made into twenty-eight small round cakes. These are covered over with a *sāl* leaf above it and one below it, and are placed one above the other in a vessel of boiling water on the night before the ceremony. The following morning, the child is anointed with oil and pounded turmeric and bathed in cold water. The *sāki* or, in his absence, some other relative is seated on a wooden plank (*gāṇḍu* or *pinrhā*) placed over a quantity (usually two *pailās* or about four pounds) of unhusked rice. The child is seated on the lap of this relative. Two other men sit down each on one side of the child with a copper *kānausi* (ear-piercing needle) in hand and pierce a hole in the lobe of each ear of the child. Then each of the two ear-piercers take up a black fowl and strikes it twice against the wooden seat (*gāṇḍu*). The fowl thus killed is taken inside the kitchen and roasted. A bamboo umbrella is then stuck up over the wooden seat. One of the ear-piercers throws seven of the cakes on to the roof of the hut, the other ear-piercer throws on the same roof the rag containing mustard seeds which had been so long tied round the neck of the child; as he does so, he says:—"From to-day the child is taken into the *jāt* (tribe). O! spirits and ghosts, do ye henceforth leave him." Two or three boys who have already perched themselves on the roof eat up the seven cakes which are said to be 'meant for the first seven days of impurity'. The boys then come down. Now the *sāki* or somebody on his behalf takes up one cup of oil, and some relative of the child holds in his hand another cup of oil, and each in his turn anoints every one present with the oil. Each guest has also brought with him one

small earthen pot of oil besides two or three *pailās* of unhusked rice. This rice is placed on the wooden seat (*gāṇḍu*) and the oil is dropped on the head of each guest, till at length oil begins to drip down the limbs of all present. This is known as 'sāki-oil'. Two jars of rice-beer along with the remaining twenty-one cakes of rice-flour are now distributed amongst the guests. After eating the cakes and drinking the rice-beer, the guests disperse.

By the boring of the ears, the child, as we have seen, is supposed to enter the *jāt* or tribe. Some Birhōrs expressed their idea about the matter to me with this quaint simile:—

"Just as castration admits a bull into the *jāt* of oxen, so by the ear-boring ceremony, a Birhōr child, so long merely a human child, is admitted into the *jāt* or tribe."

So essential is this ceremony considered by the Birhōr that a child dying before the ceremony is performed, must have its ears pierced after death and before being carried to its grave.

XI.—SOME CHILDHOOD CUSTOMS.

When a child has one or more teeth behind the front row, some one tells the child:—"We married you to the dog of so and so (names some neighbour who keeps a dog)." It is believed that this will serve to make the extra teeth fall off at the same time as the milk teeth fall off.

When a child is observed to be gradually wasting away, it is said to suffer from *pūni-dūkh*, and is laid out by its mother early one morning before the house has been swept clean, on the open space (*āṅgan*) in front of the hut, and some other woman takes it up in her arms saying "Alas! alas! why has such a fine child been cast away?" It is believed that this will in most cases restore the child to health. If this expedient fails, the child is expected to be cured if it is weighed in a balance. It is again weighed after a month or two to see how much it has gained in weight.

So long as a baby is carried in the mother's arms or slung on her back, its mother while going to some other *ṭāṇḍā* or to some village or market-place, either puts a mark of soot between its

eyebrows to protect it from the evil eye or evil spirits, or, while crossing a stream, she generally takes up a little sand, and ties it up at one end of her cloth. On her return journey, when her house is in sight, she takes the sand between the tips of her two fingers and throws it away behind her back.

XI.—CICATRIZATION AND TATTOOING.

Birhōr boys of about twelve or thirteen years of age burn scalds on each other's hands with lighted wicks. No bad effects of any sort are said to result from the omission of this practice which is now looked upon only as a test of the power of manly endurance. It is however different in the case of the tattooing of girls.

Birhōr girls of from ten to twelve years of age must have tattoo marks made on their arms, chest, chin, nose and the upper side of the feet, with an iron needle. No tattoo marks are made either on the forehead or the temples as amongst the Orāons. Where possible, a Māhāli or Ghāsi woman is called in to make the tattoo marks. Floral designs are commonly used. It is believed that if a girl is not tattooed, her spirit will on her death remain in the other world (*ūkū*) under a *semar* tree clasping its trunk with both her arms.

XII.—LIFE IN THE DORMITORIES.

In a Birhōr *ṭāṇḍā* there are two small huts made of leaves and branches of trees, which are used, one as
(a) The building. the dormitory or *Gitiṭ-ōrā* for bachelors, and the other for spinsters. The two huts are situated generally at one end of the settlement and at a little distance from each other. The maidens of the *ṭāṇḍā* gather twigs and branches for making their dormitory and their parents and other relatives construct it. The bachelors gather the materials for the construction of their dormitory and they and their relatives construct it. These huts are fairly commodious and vary with the size of the settlement. The boys' dormitory has only one door to it, but the maidens' dormitory is generally provided with a second door at the back.

Boys are admitted into their dormitory when they are about ten years old and sleep there at night until their marriage. When a boy is married, he gets a separate hut made for himself and his wife. Similarly girls are admitted into their *gitij-orā* at the age of about ten and sleep there at night until marriage. In the boys' dormitory there is no recognized headman, although the most intelligent and tactful amongst the inmates is recognized as their leader. In the maidens' dormitory, an old widow of the settlement acts as the guardian of the inmates at night. She sleeps at the main door as if to prevent the intrusion of outsiders into the dormitory and to keep watch over the movements of the girls.

Although *post*-nuptial immorality is practically unknown among the Birhōrs, *liaisons* between bachelors and spinsters are the rule rather than the exception. The back-door to the maidens' dormitory is supposed to enable the girls to go out to satisfy calls of nature without disturbing the old *duenna*. In practice, however, this door affords means of escape to boys who may have entered the hut during the absence of the old woman and also enables girls to stealthily go out to meet their lovers who notify their approach by some preconcerted sound generally made with the hand striking the leaves and branches forming the wall of the hut. The old woman, even if awake, pretends to be asleep and thus connives at these practices. Every bachelor has his sweetheart amongst the maidens. And I am informed by some Birhōr elders that to attract a maiden he loves, a young man sometimes approaches her without any clothes on his body.

There is, however, a well-recognized rule of fidelity amongst Birhōr maidens and bachelors. It is considered wrong for any boy to go with a maiden who is known to be the sweetheart of another boy; and although such breach of etiquette is not punished with a fine, the aggrieved boy has the support of his fellows when he seeks to retaliate by himself sleeping with

the recognized sweetheart of the offending boy. In theory, *liaisons* between unmarried boys and girls are believed to offend the spirits and bring ill-luck in hunting. But the only result of this theory is to bring perquisites to the *Māti* and the *Nāya*. For to stop detection and disclosure by the *Māti* (diviner) the young men give him some money presents while they give the *Nāya* some money to buy a piece of cloth, liquor and fowls so that he may appease the offended spirits who would otherwise prevent success in hunting. Occasionally, supposed spirit-possession is made a pretence by a young man to go with his sweetheart. Thus it sometimes happens that when a young man meets his sweetheart at a market, he begins to shake his head violently and in this condition of supposed spirit-possession carries off the young woman in his arms in the direction of some jungle. The by-standers merely remark that some spirit is on him and no harm is meant.

The premarital *liaisons* of a Birhōr woman are so lightly thought of that no Birhōr has the slightest objection to marry a girl whom he knows to have been the sweetheart of another young man. Thus, in a certain Birhōr settlement, I know three men, B, R, and S, who during their bachelorhood were inmates of the same dormitory. F, K, and M were among the inmates of the spinsters' dormitory in the same settlement. During this period, B had F, R had K, and S had M for their respective sweethearts. Later, R was married to F, and K and M were married to men of other *tāṇḍās*. R, who in his bachelor days used to regard F as the recognized sweetheart of B, is on the best of terms with her now as his married wife although B lives next door to him. Neither R nor B nor F appears to think anything of their former relations.

When any inconvenient consequences follow a premarital intrigue, recourse is had to certain medicinal roots to cause abortion (*ōchō*).

XIII.—MENSTRUATION CUSTOMS:

The menstrual condition of a female is believed to be attended with danger to herself as well as to her settlement. This

is true both of the first menses of a girl as also of her subsequent menstrual periods. A menstruant female is taboo to the whole community. She may not touch her husband or any other person for one whole week from the commencement of every menstrual flow. During this period, she may not cook food or draw water, nor even touch any food or drink meant for others; she must not touch the walls or the roof of her own or any one else's hut; she must not come in contact with the spring or well where her tribe-fellows bathe, or from which they draw water; she must not touch her husband or any other man, nor enter any house except her own; she may not touch a bed, but must lie down alone on the bare ground; she must not touch fire, although she may look at it; and she must not walk across a hunting-net. It is apparently the supposed dangers of blood that give rise to these restrictions. Blood is the pabulum which gives nutriment to the spirits, and the sight of blood naturally makes the spirits restive. That is the avowed reason why a menstruant woman is not permitted to enter the spirit-huts of the village or even the *āding* or inner tabernacle of her own hut where the ancestor-spirits are believed to reside. During this period not only may there be no sacrifices or *pujā* offered to the *orā-bongāko* (house-spirits) in the menstruant woman's hut but in fact there will be no *pujā* or sacrifice in any family in the settlement. The reason which the Birhōrs now assign for this prohibition is the fact that in the event of any sacrifice offered in the settlement, the members of the menstruant female's family would have to go without their share of the sacrificial meat. Indeed, if in ignorance of the fact that a female in the *ṭāṇḍa* is in her menses, any Birhōr in the *ṭāṇḍa* offers a sacrifice to his home-spirits (*orā-bongāko*), the menstruant female and, in case she is married, her husband must not partake of any portion of the sacrificial meat or any food cooked in the new earthen pot used in preparing the sacrificial food. Should they do so they are liable to be afflicted with some serious illness. Should a menstruant woman touch a man even by accident, the latter is, it is believed, sure to fall ill. In the case of the Hembrōm and Bhuiyā clans of Birhōrs it is believed that

if a menstruant female of those clans touches a man even by chance, the husband of the woman is sure to die either of illness or by a fall from a tree or by being devoured by a tiger set on by some spirit, and if she infringes any of the other taboos mentioned above, two individuals of her clan will be carried away by death.

These taboos are removed on the eighth day after the woman has become ceremonially clean by taking a bath and having her clothes boiled in water mixed with ashes and then washing them in cold water.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Note on five sculptured stones discovered in a ruined temple near Surajkund springs in the District of Hazaribagh.

By F. M. Hollow.

I took the opportunity the other day of visiting some hot springs near Barakatta Thanah in the Hazaribagh District. The springs are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Barakatta and half a mile south of the Grand Trunk Road. A description of the springs is to be found in Dr. Hooker's Himalayan Journal (Volume I, Chapter II) ; the cold spring mentioned by him is now a stagnant pool, and only two out of the four hot springs are alive. But what interested me more than the springs was the discovery of five pieces of sculptured stone near the site of the ruined temple mentioned by Dr. Hooker ; from the sculpturing on them I am inclined to think that this temple, to which these stones belong, was of Buddhistic origin.

The temple was situated on an elevation at the head of the springs about 30 yards away ; it is now in ruins, only portions of three walls of what was perhaps an outer entrance room of the temple now remain standing. These with the remains of the fallen cupola of the temple are now roofed over with dry leaves and branches, to form a room, in which the five stones are housed. The floor and walls were plastered over with mud and were clean, and from the marks of vermilion on the stones, it is obvious that the place is still used as a shrine. The original temple appears to have been built of brick and mortar faced with sandstone. The five sculptured stones were most probably in origin ornamental, forming parts of the general scheme of decorations inside the temple. The figures and

designs are engraved in relief on plain black stones and are very beautiful and symmetrical. One of them is placed in a niche in the eastern wall of the room, it is rectangular in shape, with its top rounded off about $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet in length and one foot in breadth, the figure on it is that of Buddha sitting with hands raised to the elbows, bent back, with the palms of his hands turned outwards and level with his shoulders. In a niche in the opposite wall is a similarly shaped stone, but the figures on it are that of a woman standing with four hands, locally recognized as Bhagwati, and one on either side of her at her shoulders and at her feet four smaller standing women figures. The remaining three pieces have been embedded in a mud wall of recent date built up against the ruins of the fallen cupola. The left-hand piece is a long rectangular slab of stone about four feet high and a foot broad ; it is covered over from top to bottom with most beautiful engravings in sections of various designs ; it is capped with a temple resembling the figure in the plaque pictured on the front page of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal ; at its base is the figure of Buddha sitting with his hands and legs crossed. On the left of this slab is a pyramidal shaped slab with the figure of a woman standing similar to the figure on the slab in the western niche. One of the arms of this figure is broken. On its left is an arch of stone, semicircular in form and three or four feet long ; along the top of the arch are five pinnacles cut out of it like the points of a crown ; the centre and two end ones are shaped like the figures in the plaque, and the two on either side of the centre one have machicolated tops. But all have the sitting figure of Buddha with arms and legs crossed engraved in their centres. This arch appears to have formed part of a doorway or window as it has been chiselled out of rough sandstone. Local tradition says that the stones rose out of the earth of their own accord. This at least proves their antiquity, and removes the suspicion of their having been brought from somewhere else. The stones were in all probability found among the ruins of the temple and set up there by some Brahmin who, to safeguard them from spoliation

and to ensure the future utility of the shrine, ascribed to them a divine origin. I feel sure that if excavations are made at the spot where the ruins of the cupola lie, more interesting relics would be found. My description may not be sufficiently accurate to satisfy the curiosity of minds better trained than myself in these matters, but my object in writing of them will be fulfilled if it should induce any of them to visit the spot himself.

II.—King Pratapa Rudra Deva of Orissa and his ‘Sarasvati Vilasa

By Tarini Charan Rath, B. A.

Pratapa Rudra Deva Gajapathi was a very famous king of ancient Orissa who ruled over an extensive country, during the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. He belonged to the Solar Dynasty and with him the fame and glory of the ancient kingdom of Orissa may be said to have waned. His country extended from the Ganges in the North to the mouth of the Krishna river in the South and he even carried arms as far as Rameswara at the extreme south, successfully for a time. He was the son of Purushottama Deva Gajapathi of Kanchi-Kaveri fame, by his beloved Queen Padmavati or Rupambika, the daughter of the king of Karnata, whom he had taken prisoner during his expeditions. King Kapilendra or Kapileśvara Deva of Orissa was the grandfather of Pratāparudra. He founded the Solar Dynasty after the extinction of the well-known Ganga family. Pratāparudra Deva was the author or compiler of a most valuable treatise on Hindu Law known by the name of ‘Sarasvati Vilāsa’ or ‘Recreations of the Goddess of Learning’ which is even to this day an authority along with the Mitakshara in Orissa and South India. Several writers on Hindu Law commencing from Sir Charles Grey (afterwards Chief Justice of Bengal) to Mayne including Grady, Macnaghten, Morley, Strange, Thompson, Tagore and others have spoken highly of this legal compilation of the Orissan King. But owing to the confusion and dismemberment that followed the demise of the Great King in Orissa, the valuable treatise on Hindu Law seems to have not been given the due prominence in the country. It appears to have been better known in South

Orissa (Madras Presidency) than in its northern portion. The date of the compilation may be safely assigned to 1515 A.D.

For some time the work was but blindly attributed to the Telingana King Prataparudra Deva Ganapati of the Kakatiya Dynasty of Warāṅgal. The book is in highflown Sanskrit language and anybody who has the patience to go through it will certainly find out the real author. Palm-leaf manuscript copies of the book have been found even in Travancore, Mysore, Coimbatore, Tanjore and other places in the South, written in the Old Grantha, Tamil and Telugu characters.

The work is an extensive one comprising the whole body of Hindu religious, moral and civil laws of the country. It does not omit even the customary law of land tenure. In the introduction to the book it is stated that the King composed it with a view to remedy the difficulties arising from the existence at that time of several authoritative works on law, whose doctrines were in conflict with each other. On the fundamental question of the character of the ownership of property, the treatise is the most pronounced of all the works as yet known, on the secular side of the controversy.

The King is celebrated for his great wisdom, ability, valour, learning and religious knowledge. His skill in the art of war as well as Civil Government was eminent. The introductory chapter of the book records his extensive literary accomplishments. He is said to have composed commentaries and popular narratives. He was a director of dramas and arranged the Dharmaśāstra. He was very fond of disputes and controversies on points of theology. He was devout and built several temples. The Great Vaishṇava Reformer Śrī Chaitanya came to Orissa in his time and was much adored by him.

The book clearly makes mention of the successful and famous Kanchi Kaveri Expedition of his father King Purushottama Deva which is not fully believed by some sceptics, who are few. Rev. Thomas Foulkes translated from the original Sanskrit the portion of the book on 'Daya Bhāga' or 'Law of

Inheritance' in 1881. This book is now out of print and not available.

The Uriya people may rightly feel proud of such a worthy production of one of their ancient kings. But it is to be regretted that the work has not been yet fully published and translated. It is hoped that steps will be taken soon in the direction by all concerned and also the benign Government which has been doing so much in respect of such ancient and valuable oriental records.

III.—The Naik Caste.

By Prameshwar Lall, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

I looked into the volume of the Census Report dealing with Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for this caste but I could find no reference to it. Probably its obscurity is due to its being looked upon as disreputable. But whatever may be the cause of its omission it is well known that the caste exists and flourishes in Bihar and the neighbouring provinces of Agra and Oudh. Whether it is to be found in the Punjab I cannot say, but I should not feel surprised if it also exists there. If the name Naek is not used in the Punjab some other name is used for the corresponding class of people. In Bengal the caste is not to be found though castes of hereditary male and female musicians and dancers of various grades of respectability are to be found in Bengal as well as in other parts of India.

It would be interesting to know if the caste, or something corresponding to it, is mentioned in the ancient literature of the Hindus. I have referred to the Hindi *Bhakt-Māla*. There we have an illustration of how even the faithful performance of the duties of this caste with a thorough devotion to the deity may lead to salvation. The caste certainly did exist in Muhammadan times. In Sanskrit literature the castes of *Naṭa* (dancers) and *Viṭa* ('public') are found. The professional dancing women appear as early as the time of the Buddha. It was not even then a recent institution. The Buddha was invited to dine by a member of this fraternity and went to her house with all his monks. This was in the town of Vaisali (in North Bihar). It gave rise to a great deal of scandal among the more respectable residents of the town and they came to him and asked him about it and thus provided an occasion for one of his great sermons.

The caste name *Nāek* is derived from the technical *Nāyaka* of Hindu Dramaturgy. *Nāyaka* is the hero and *Nāyikā* is the heroine. They are divided into different classes. Hindi books on *Nāyika-bheda* are reproduced from Sanskrit works. Evidently *Nāek* and *Naekā* are names acquired from Hindi literature in Muhammadan times.

Whatever the antiquity and the history of the caste may be its present-day customs and mode of life are particularly interesting. Further enquiries disclose that there are two broad divisions of the caste. One Hindu and the other Muhammadan. The Hindu section is divided into numerous subdivisions. Their marriage and other social ceremonies afford glimpses into a peculiar state of moral and social development. They have family gods of their own—not the usual gods of the Hindu pantheon but gods that are yet below that stage—though fast advancing to that status. Some of those deities require animal sacrifices—like the Jehovah of the early Hebrews and the Kali and Durga of the present day Hindus in some parts of North-East India. But the bulk of the gods are of a milder nature and are content with offerings of flowers, perfume, and sweets. There are always songs and music offered to them, but this is common with the other Hindus to almost all the deities. They also worship their musical instruments—*Sarangi*, *tabla*, *mridang*, *sitar*, etc. (the harmonium flute is a recent arrival at the Naik Olympus) This is like the worship of martial weapons by Rājputs—the Kshatriyas. The Naiks celebrate the festival of the spring—*Basanta*, which is a remnant of the classical Vasantotsava of Sanskrit literature. Songs are sung in every Naik home. Gifts of the beautifully scented mango blossom are exchanged in the fraternity and are also given to non-Naik friends and patrons. This is again an ancient symbolism. The mango blossom in Sanskrit literature is the favourite emblem of the god Cupid (*Kāma*) who uses it as ends to his arrows. It represents spring. Gwalior which is the most sacred spot for Hindu musicians is a place of their pilgrimage. The Naiks go there to do honour to the

tomb of Tan Sen, the Hindu convert of Akbar's time, and the Prince of musicians of his time.

The philosophy of the Nāekā is that she considers her material self as distinct from her spiritual self, which she thinks can be in all purity devoted to the service and worship of the deity.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I.—Minutes of an Ordinary Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Patna College, on Monday, the 22nd April, 1918.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal read a paper on *Hindu Republics*.

The lecturer discussed the significance of the words *Saṅgha* and *Gaṇa* in Pāṇini and the Mahā-Bhārata. The classes of *Saṅghas* as found in Pāṇini's Grammar and Kautilya's Artha-Sāstra were pointed out. Various constitutions gathered from Sanskrit, Pāli and Greek sources were classified as Democracy, Aristocracy and a mixed constitution based on these two. The earliest known instances of Non-Monarchical Governments were traced back to C. 1000 B.C. Procedures of deliberations in the assembly of *Saṅghas* were detailed from the Vinaya which were found very interesting owing to the many similarities with the present-day procedures.

The Vice-President referred to similar rules of procedure described for deliberations and discussions, laid down for Buddhist monks in the So-Sor Thar-pa and other Tibetan books, which are still followed at the present day. They were undoubtedly borrowed, the Vice-President pointed out, from the original Buddhist literature of India.

After thanking the lecturer the meeting was dissolved.

The paper is part of a book by the lecturer on the Constitutional History of India and as the whole book is being printed independently, the paper will not be published in the Journal.

II.—Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held at the Society's office on 8th April 1918 at 4-30 p.m.

PRESENT.

1. Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S., in the Chair.
 2. Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Jennings, M. A.
 3. Babu S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L.
 4. Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A., F.R.E.S., F.R.H.S.
 5. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A. (Oxon.), Secretary.
- (1) The minutes of the last meetings were read and confirmed.
- (2) The following new members were elected :—

Name.	Place.	Proposed by—
1. Babu Kailaspati Sahay, B. A.	Buxar ...	Professor J. N. Samaddar.
2. Mr. Shahab-ud-din Khudabuksh.	Patna ...	Mr. Parmeshwar Lal.
3. Mr. O. C. Ganguly	Calcutta ...	Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.
4. Mr. H. B. Bhide	Bhaonaga: ...	Ditto.
5. Mr. G. Sicoard, O. J.	Trichinopoly ...	Ditto.
6. Mr. P. E. Das (Life Member)	Bankipore ...	Ditto.
7. Rai Krishna Das	Benares ...	Ditto.
8. Dr. Mahmood, Bar-at-Law	Bankipore ...	Ditto.
9. Mr. Iyer	Cochin State ...	Babu S. C. Roy.
10. Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur Sir Ravaneswar Prasad Singh, K.C.I.E., of Gidhaur (Life Member.)	Gidhaur ...	Prof. J. N. Samaddar.
11. Mr. S. M. Kalim	Patna ...	Ditto.
12. Babu Kumar Devendra Prasad.	Arrah ...	Vice-President.

3. The question of the purchase of books from the grant of Rs. 1,000 made by the Government to the Society for the Library was considered and a list of books to be purchased, was prepared.

The Secretary was also requested to obtain price lists of the Pali Text Book Society's publications and of the Mysore, Baroda and Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and also of the back numbers of the Journal of the Folklore Society up to date and of the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute up to 1915.

4. The application of Babu Raj Kishore Narain, late clerk of the Society, for leave for a year was granted, as he has been allowed to take a post in Mesopotamia. He was also allowed to retain a lien on his appointment.

The Secretary said that he had appointed a temporary clerk who is working satisfactorily.

The Vice-President said that he had received a number of applications for the post of clerk of the Museum from which a suitable clerk might be obtained. The temporary clerk has not passed the Matriculation Examination.

The appointment of a clerk was left to the Vice-President.

5. The Secretary reported that he had appointed Muhammad Siddiq Alam to the post of Daftari sanctioned by the Council. The appointment was confirmed.

6. The holding of a meeting for reading of papers and discussion thereon was considered. Mr. Jayaswal kindly said that he would read a paper on "Republics in Hindu Times". It was resolved that the Principal of the Patna College be asked if he will kindly allow the meeting to be held at the Laboratory of the Patna College at 6-30 p.m. on the 22nd April.

7. The Vice-President said that Babu Sarat Chandra Roy is resigning the Curatorship of the Museum so as to be able to devote his time to his Ethnological enquiries and his researches into the Asur Burial Sites and that he will require a clerk and a peon for the purpose of and to accompany him on these enquiries. He wishes to have the Museum clerk, who was formerly clerk of the Research Society and worked with him on his

previous enquiries. The clerk's present pay as Museum clerk is Rs. 30—4—50.

Resolved that Government be asked to make an annual grant of Rs. 600 to Babu Sarat Chandra Roy which will provide for a clerk on a pay up to Rs. 30, a peon on Rs. 8 and monthly contingencies of Rs. 12.

Babu Sarat Chandra Roy asked that the amount of contingencies may be fixed at Rs. 12 as he has no typewriting machine and will therefore have to incur extra expense in getting his matter type-written.

It was also resolved that Government be asked to grant Travelling Allowance at First Class rates to Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, which he at present draws as Curator of the Museum and also Travelling allowance to the clerk and peon at the usual Government rates. Also as Babu Sarat Chandra Roy's enquiries may require him to halt for more than 10 days in one place, that he and his clerk and peon when accompanying him, be exempted from Article 1056, Civil Service Regulations.

It was also resolved that, as Babu S. C. Roy is returning to Ranchi, which will be his headquarters, the grant now recommended, may be paid to him direct, rather than to the Society for payment to Babu S. C. Roy.

8. Professor Samaddar brought to notice that the Honorary Treasurer has no peon and that a considerable part of the time of his own servant is taken up in taking money to and drawing money from the Bank, and other work of the Honorary Treasurer. Professor Samaddar was willing to use his own servant for this purpose. It was resolved that an allowance of Rs. 4 per month be paid to the Honorary Treasurer for remuneration of his servant for these duties commencing from the 1st April.

9. Professor Samaddar requested permission to translate into Bengali some of the articles in the Journal and to use the blocks of the illustrations. He said that permission had already been granted to him to do this in the case of Dr. Spooner's papers on the Buddha Gaya Plaque. It was resolved that as the copyright

of the papers in the Society's Journal belongs to the authors, the Council cannot give a general permission, but will consider any particular case, for which the permission of the author will have to be obtained.

10. It was resolved that the Journal be not sent to those members who have not paid their arrears of subscription.

This will not, however, apply to the subscription for the current year. But notices should be sent to all members who have not paid their subscription for the current year, requesting them to do so at once.

11. The Honorary Treasurer asked to be authorized to compound with some defaulters by permitting them to pay off their arrears by instalments.

12. It was resolved that Rs. 3,000 be deposited in the Bank of Bengal on 12 months' deposit.

13. It was resolved that a bicycle be purchased for the Chaprasi at a cost of Rs. 120.

14. It was resolved that a hand-list of the books in the Library be prepared and be published as early as possible.

15. Government memo. No. ³⁴⁵⁵_{G.T.-4 of 1918}, dated the 18th March 1918, forwarding a copy of Government order No. 141-E., dated the 8th March 1918, sanctioning the extension of deputation for a period of one year with effect from the 1st October 1917, of the Pandit Biswanāth Rath Kāvyatirtha in connection with the preparation of a catalogue of the palm-leaf manuscripts in the district of Puri, was read and recorded.

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VOL. IV.]

[PART III.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—The Head-dress of Banjara Women.

W. Crooke, B.A., L.C.S. (retired.)

With the almost complete disappearance of the Banjāra *tāṇḍā* or caravan from the roads of Northern India and the Deccan, the traveller misses one of the most picturesque types of Indian life. No one who has ever met one of their parties on the march with a string of pack animals and cattle for sale can ever forget the sturdy, determined bearing of the men, the bold, confident appearance and strange dress of the women.

The dress of Banjāra women in the Central Provinces was thus described by the late Mr. R. V. Russell: "Women often have their hair hanging down besides the face in front and woven behind with silver threads in'o a plait down the back. This is known as Anthi (*an̄i*), and has a number of cowries at the end. They have large bell-shaped ornaments of silver tied over the head and hanging down behind the ears, the hollow part of the ornament being stuffed with sheep's wool dyed; and to these are attached little bells, while the anklets on the feet are also hollow and contain little stones or balls, which tinkle as they move. They have skirts, and separate short cloths drawn

across the shoulders according to the northern fashion, usually red or green in colour, and along the skirt-borders double lines of cowries are sewn. Their breast-cloths are profusely ornamented with needle-work embroidery and small pieces of glass sewn into them, and are tied behind with cords of many colours whose ends are decorated with cowries and beads. Strings of beads, ten to twenty thick, threaded on horse-hair, are worn round the neck. Their favourite ornaments are cowries, and they have them on their dress, in their houses, and on the trappings of their bullocks. On the arms they have ten or twelve bangles of ivory, or, in default of this, lac, horn, or cocoa-nut shell".¹ Mr. Valentine Ball remarked that he was "at once struck by the peculiar costumes and brilliant clothing of these Indian Gipsies. They recalled to my mind the appearance of the Gipsies of the Lower Danube and Wallachia".²

But, as Mr. Russell states, "the most distinctive ornament of a Banjāra married woman is, however, a small stick about 6 inches long made of the wood of the *khair* or catechu. In Nimār this is given to a woman by her husband at marriage, and she wears it afterwards placed upright on the top of the head, the hair being wound round it, and the head-cloth draped over it in a graceful fashion. Widows leave it off, but on re-marriage adopt it again. The stick is known as *chunda* by the Banjāras, but outsiders call it *singh* or 'horn'. In Yeotmāl, instead of one the women have two little sticks fixed upright in the hair. The rank of the woman is said to be shown by the angle at which she wears this horn".³

¹ *Tribes and castes of the Central Provinces*, ii, 144f: Id. *Nimār Gazetteer*, (1908) i, 71f.: C. Brown, R. V. Russell, 4 *Yeotmāl Gazetteer*, (1908) i 69.

² *Jungle life in India*, 516. For other accounts of the dress of Banjāra women see W. Crooke. *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh*, i, 165; M. Kennedy, *Notes on the Criminal classes in the Bombay Presidency*, 4: *Bombay Gazetteer*, ix, part 2, 85: *Ethnographic Survey, Bombay*, Monograph, No. 140, page 4.

³ *Op. cit.* ii, 185. Plates, *Dictionary of Urdu, classical Hindi and English*, S. V.—gives *chondā*, "the coil of a woman's hair, top-knot, usually applied to the hair of an old woman".

I propose in this paper to discuss the origin, distribution, and meaning of this curious form of head-dress.

To begin with the people of the Plains of India. In the Vedas mention is made of a kind of dress called *opasa*, a word which probably means "a plait" used in dressing the hair of women, but apparently in earlier times of men also. Geldner, supposes that the original meaning of the word was "horn", but this seems to be doubtful.⁴ The name of the tribe mentioned in the Rigveda under the title Visāṇin seems to mean "having horns," and it has been suggested that perhaps their helmets were horn-shape or ornamented with horns.⁵ In one of the reliefs from the Buddhist Stūpa of Sānchi women are represented as wearing a peculiar head-gear, tufts or plumes, and horn-shaped ornament. General Maisey, commenting on these sculptures, connects this type of ornament with the "horned or rayed divinities of mythology," and he adds that "among Indian Buddhists the horn seems to have been formed by the top-knot of the hair, twisted up with folds of the turban; and the Sānchi sculptures show it as worn by men as well as by women. A manufactured imitation of this, called the Chūḍamāha or Chūrāmani, is still worn by Hindu women,⁶ and is of special value because it was the distinguishing ornament of Sītā, the faithful wife of the God Rāmachandra. Among the Indian Buddhists also the ornament had a divine sanction and origin. The prince Siddhārtha, before he became an ascetic, twisted his top-knot and turban together, and cut them off; and the severed head-gear was at once carried by the Dévas to heaven, and became a sacred relic of Sakya, called the Chouḍāmāha or "great head-dress".⁷

⁴ A. A. Macdonell, A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, i, 124f. : M. Bloomfield, *Ātharva-veda*, Sacred Books of the East, xlii, 538f.

⁵ *Vedic Index*, ii, 313.

⁶ Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, gives chudāmani, a jewel worn by men and women on the top of the head. A drawing in C. Coleman, *Mythology of the Hindus*, page 23, shows Sītā wearing a jewel on the top of her head.

⁷ F. C. Maisey, *Sānchi and its Remains*, 49: Plates xii, xviii.

From Mr. Thurston's account of the Lāmbodis of Madras it appears that they do not wear the "horn" head-dress, but the married are distinguished from unmarried women in other ways. When they are carrying water, they are "fastidious in the adornment of the pad, called *gala*, which is placed on their heads. They cover it with cowries and attach to it an embroidered cloth, called *phulia*, ornamented with tassels and cowries."⁸ The women of Malabar have a curious habit of arranging their hair. Among the younger women the coil rises like a tapering column on the head, while that of their elders is almost circular in form, lying on the left side over the forehead.⁹ The only case which I have noticed of women in the plains wearing a head-dress like that of the Banjāras is among the Soiris, a vagrant tribe in the Ghāzipur district of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. According to Doctor Oldham, they strongly resemble the Gipsies of Europe, their women wearing a tartan dress and a kind of horn projecting from the forehead as an ornament.¹⁰

It is in the Himalaya and the adjoining regions to the north of this mountain chain that the closest parallels to the Banjāra head-dress can be found. "The royal ladies of the Ye-tha country [probably the Ephthalites or White Huns] wear state robes, which trail on the ground three feet and more; they have special train-bearers for carrying these lengthy robes. They also wear on their heads a horn, in length eight feet and more, three feet of its length being red coral".¹¹ Again, speaking of Hi-mo-ta-lo or Himatala, the modern Kunduz, the traveller states that "their wives wear upon their head-dress a wooden horn about three feet or so in length. It has two branches (a *double branch*)

⁸ E. Thurston, *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*, iv. 219.

⁹ E. Thurston, *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*, v. 312, with a photograph: L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, ii, 162f. with a photograph.

¹⁰ Crooke, *op. cit.* iv. 322.

¹¹ S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i, Introd. XCi f. Beal remarks in a note:—"I see no other way of translating this passage, although it seems puzzling to know how these royal ladies could carry such an ornament as this upon their head

in front which signify father and mother of the husband. The upper horn denotes the father, the lower one the mother. Whichever of these two dies first, they remove one horn, but when both are dead, they give up this style of head-dress".¹²

In modern times the Bashgali women wear a head-dress consisting of a black cap with lappets, and two horns about a foot long, made of wood wrapped round with black cloth.¹³ In Kāfiristān "the horned head-dress is a very peculiar article of attire. It consists of a pad six inches broad from front to base, made of hair covered with black net. This pad rests on the top of the head. From each side in front project upwards and outwards two horns about seven inches long. From the base of these front horns two other run backwards and downwards over the pad, parallel to each other, and two and a half inches apart, tapering slightly to a blunt point. All the horns are about an inch in diameter at the base, and are made of the same material as the pad....The western Siāh-posh women wear an identical head-dress, except that it is narrower, and the front horns are much shorter, not more than half the length of those worn by the women of the Bashgul Valley. These short horns peep out from a covering of cotton-cloth enveloping the whole head-dress. The back horns are also comparatively small. In the Katir district of the Bashgul Valley the peculiar appearance of these horned head-dresses is often enhanced by the custom many women adopt of slipping cotton bags over the horns to keep them from dust and damp".¹⁴

In the Punjab, the male head-dress of the Gaddis of Kāngra has a flap round the margin and a peak-like projection in the centre, "said to represent the Kailas of Mani Mahes".¹⁵

In Central Asia the Meau-tze women, as described by Duhalde, wear "a light board, more than a foot long and five or

¹² *Ibid.*, 290.

¹³ B. Biddulph, *The Tribes of the Hindu Kush*, 129.

¹⁴ Sir G. S. Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush*, 512ff; cf. Sir T. E. Gordon, *The Roof of the World*, 40.

¹⁵ H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, ii, 259.

six inches wide, which they cover with their hair, and fix it with wax, so that they seem to have a hair hat".¹⁶ An Uigur people called the Yen-to practise fraternal polyandry. If "a man had no brothers, his wife wore a head-dress or cap with only a single horn; if he had brothers, she added as many points or horns as there were brothers."¹⁷

In the area of Eastern India occupied by tribes of Mongoloid affinities, we meet with instances of head-dresses of a somewhat analogous type. The Mishmi priest in Assam wears, attached to the front of his head-dress, two appendages like horns, a bandeau ornamented with shells, and round the knob of hair at the top of the head, a moveable plume which turns like a weathercock.¹⁸ The Manipuri gala dress is thus described: "A white turban is bound tightly round the head, and in front is wound round a *shumzil*, a horn-shaped construction of cane bound over with cloth or gold braid, and ending above in a loop and below in three flat loops which are concealed under the turban. The *shumzil* is over a foot high and curves slightly backwards; from the loop at its end hangs an embroidered streamer. On each side of the head a plume made of peacocks' feathers and the tail feathers of the hornbill are inserted in the turban, and sometimes another such plume is worn behind, the upper end passing through the loop of the *shumzil*. The whole structure is bound together by a narrow band of red and white embroidery wound round and round and tied under the chin, with ends hanging down nearly to the waist."¹⁹ According to another account, "on gala days the costume of a warrior is most handsome. The cane helmet, which is sometimes covered with tiger or leopard skin, bears a brass disc in front, and three crescents of buffalo horn tipped with red hair are fastened to it in front. I have seen a red and yellow painted structure made of thin lath worn on the helmet

¹⁶ Sir H. Yule, *Cathay and the way Thither*, 2nd ed. ii, 187.

¹⁷ *Ibid* ii. 223.

¹⁸ E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 16 f.

¹⁹ Lt.-Col. J. Shakespear, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*,
* (1910), 353 f.

rising at least two feet above the peak of the cane helmet. This looks like a pair of horns which it may be intended to imitate." ²⁰

Passing on to a few analogies outside the Indian area of the use of horns as a form of decoration, Sir James Frazer, describing the Hittite sculptures at Ibreez in the Taurus, writes: "Among the attributes which mark out the deity of Ibreez as a power of fertility the horns on his high cap should not be overlooked. They are probably the horns of a bull; for to primitive cattle-breeders the bull is a most natural emblem of generative force. At Carchemish, the great Hittite capital on the Euphrates, a relief has been discovered which represents a god or priest clad in a rich robe, and wearing on his head a tall cap surmounted by a disc. Sculptures found at the palace of Euyuh in north-western Cappadocia prove that the Hittites worshipped the bull and sacrificed rams to it. Similarly, the Greeks worshipped the vinegod Dionysus in the form of a bull". ²¹ With this may be compared the representations of the Egyptian deities, Hathor and Isis, with the head of a cow and prominent horns, and of the Babylonian storm-god, Ramman, with horns. ²²

The closest parallel to the Banjāra head-dress in Asia, outside the Indian area, is that of the Druse women of Syria. Here, too, it distinguishes married from unmarried women, as is the case with the pointed cap worn by Jewesses in Tunis. ²³ Mr. Elworthy regards the Druse head-dress as a survival of the Hebrew belief in the horn as an emblem of virile strength; but this has been disputed. ²⁴

Among the North American Indians, "there is occasionally a chief or warrior of so extraordinary renown, that he is allowed

²⁰ T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 23.

²¹ *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, i, 123.

²² G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilisation*, 88, 132, 175, 177, 663.

²³ J. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, i, 627, with a drawing; F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, 199.

²⁴ Hastings's, *op. cit.* ii, 416. The use of the horn as a symbol of dignity has been fully illustrated by F. T. Elworthy, *Horns of Honour*, Chap. I.

to wear horns on his head-dress which give to his aspect a strange and majestic effect. These are made of about a third part of the horn of a buffalo bull; the horn having been split from end to end, and a third part of it shaved thin and light, and highly polished. They are attached to the top of the head-dress on each side, in the same place that they rise and stand on the head of a buffalo; rising out of a mat of coarse skins and bark, which hang over the top of the head-dress, somewhat in the form that the large and profuse locks of hair hang and fall over the head of a buffalo bull."²⁵

The high cap, again, is in many places a mark of dignity. We find it in the representations of Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian gods and goddesses, kings and warriors.²⁶ On the Hammurabi Stela the high cap of the seated deity differentiates him from his adoring servant, and we find similar caps on the banner of Ashur-nasir-pal.²⁷

The Scythians wore very high, pointed head-gear, of which many examples have been recorded from recent excavations.²⁸ In Persia, the cap of Alp Arslan (1029-72 A. D.) was said to be two yards in height from the top of his moustaches.²⁹ The Flamen Dialis at Rome wore a high conical cap, called *albogalerus*, made from the skins of animals slain at the sacrifice. On the top of the cap was inserted the *apex*, properly so called. A spike of olivewood projected from the *pilus* or cap, and was bound to it by a woollen thread made from the wool of a victim.³⁰

Again, the use of horns as a protective against witchcraft, the Evil Eye, or other forms of black magic, is common. Professor W. Ridgeway has shown that primitive peoples were in

²⁵ G. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, 4th ed. (1844) i, 106 f., plates 14, 64, 91.

²⁶ G. Maspero, *op. cit.* 82, 189, 202, 545, 602, 655, 719; *Id.* *The Struggle of the Natives*, 36, 96, 355, 439, 483, 525, 624, 629, 636, 637.

²⁷ J. P. Hancock, *Mesopotamia Archaeology*, 198, 223.

²⁸ G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, 3rd ed. iii, 68; E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 55, 57, 62, 97, 239.

²⁹ E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia from Firdawsi to Sadi*, 176.

the habit of wearing, as amulets, horns, claws, or tusks of the most powerful and dangerous animals. These claws or tusks were often placed base to base, and the crescent form resulted. The Muhammadans in using the crescent as their symbol adopted a pre-existing type, and the association of the crescent with the moon was a later development.³¹ Certain Himalayan tribes, like the Limbus and Lushais, place skulls of animals, with the horns, outside their dwellings, not so much as trophies of skill in the chase, as charms against evil spirits; in the same way the beams in the front of the roofs in houses of these and neighbouring tribes are often bent or curved to represent horns.³²

It has also been suggested that the high-peaked horn head-dress originated in the belief in the sanctity of the head which persons under taboo were prohibited from touching.³³ But of this I have found no satisfactory evidence in India.

On the whole it is, perhaps, safer to regard the high-peaked head-dress as a mark of dignity, used in more than one of the instances already quoted to distinguish ladies of rank, or married from unmarried women. When we endeavour to explore deeper the origin of the practice no satisfactory facts are available. The use of a stick or horn to raise in a conical form the sheet covering the head may be based on the desire to secure protection from witchcraft or from the Evil Eye, or on some other magical intention. It may be merely a survival of some tribal fashion of which the history of ancient and modern European female dress supplies many instances. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it supplies an example of the conservatism of Oriental fashions in dress. Its persistence in the Himalaya extends for at least fifteen hundred years.

³⁰ *Journal of Roman Studies*, i, 212 ff, with photographs.

³¹ *Man*, vii (1907). 144

³² L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, 486. W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 2nd ed. ii, 225: Sir T. E. Gordon, *The Roof of the World*, 814: T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 43: Id. *The Meitheis*, 8: F. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, 259.

³³ Frazer, *op. cit.*, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, 142, 183, 189, 252 ff.

It is tempting to speculate whether the use of this form of dress by the Banjāras throws any light on the origin of this interesting people. We have seen that the closest analogies to it within the Indian area are found in the Himalayas, the Hindu-kush, and the tracts adjoining these mountain systems. This may suggest the inference that the Banjāras have their origin from one of the tribes which joined in the invasion of the Ephthalites or White Huns, multitudes of whom entered Persia and India during the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. There are some indications in the appearance, manners, and customs of the Banjāras which suggest that in their present form they may have originated in Rājputāna and Gujarāt, whence in later times they migrated to the Deccan. They may have been connected with the Gurjaras, one of the leading Hun tribes which settled in those regions. One of the most powerful Banjāra sections in the Deccan is known as Chāran, and they may possibly be a branch of that remarkable group of genealogist, graziers, and cattle-dealers who, like their kinsmen the Bhāts, were treated with great respect by the Rājputs and other tribes of Rājputāna and Gujarāt. The Bhāts and Chārans may represent the tribal priests of the Gurjaras before they accepted the ministrations of the Brāhmans. But the use of a single article of dress, however, remarkable, is hardly a sufficient basis for any wide ethnological speculation.



BANJĀRĀ DRESS.

[The lady wearing it is a European.]



BANJĀRĀ DRESS AND "HORN."



BANJĀRĀ CLOTHING AND HEAD-DRESS.

[The lady wearing the dress is a European.]

II.—Revised Notes on the Brahmin Empire.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

I.—THE BRAHMIN CASTE OF THE ŚUNGAŚ.

The identification of the Śuṅgas made by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī is an important discovery in the field of Indian History. It throws a flood of light on the period marking the close of the Maurya rule and explains many matters which remained subject of speculation. Mr. Śāstrī's identification that the Śuṅgas were Brahmins is based on the enumeration of the Śuṅgas amongst a *pravara* list.¹ It receives confirmation from other sources which I notice below.

In 1911 I published some essays in the legal journal the *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, on a comparative study of certain legal doctrines of the *Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra*. There I came to the conclusion that the metrical *Dharma-Śāstra* was composed under the reign of Pushya-Mitra. The extreme hostility of the *Dharma-Śāstra* towards the Śūdra and especially the Śūdra as a ruler and the Śūdra as a high official, e.g., a judge, was taken by me to refer to the facts of the Maurya dynasty and probably also to their short-lived predecessors, the Nandas. Within the memory of recorded history of the Hindus, the Nandas and the Mauryas were the only Śūdra rulers. The injunction with regard to the Śūdra rule could not have been laid down before the fact of a Śūdra rule.²

* Originally written in 1913 and published in 1914 (*Express*). The notes have been revised and new data incorporated.

¹ J. and Proc. A. S. B. 1912, p. 267.

² In my Tagore Lectures (Lecture I) I discuss the date of the *Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra*, and arrive at the conclusion that the work was composed between c. 150 B. C. and 120 B. C.

The claim of the Brahmin in the *Dharma-Śāstra* is exaggerated mainly as against the Śūdra. For this reason I felt a strong suspicion that the antagonist of the Maurya Śūdra was probably a Brahmin. This was confirmed by the curious Śloka, the 100th of the last chapter of the *Dharma Śāstra*.

सेनापत्यं च राज्यं च दृष्ट्वेनेतृत्वमेव च ।

सर्वलोकधिपत्यं च वेद-शास्त्र-विद्वहति ॥

“It is the *knower-of-the-Vedic Science* who deserves the leadership of the army (*Senāpatya*), sovereignty, likewise the chiefship of the executive, and the overlordship of the whole people.”

The legalist here, as I pointed out in the Weekly Notes, is very probably referring to the orthodox hero, the *Senāpati* Pushya-Mitra, who defeated the Greeks, obtained sovereignty and followed a vigorous executive policy in restoring the orthodox system. The strong assertion that a *Pedavit* (a Brahmin cf. XII. 101-108) deserves *Senāpatya* can only be explained as a reference to, and a defence of, the fact of a Brahmin *Senāpatya*.

In Tāranātha there is the noteworthy statement that Pushya-Mitra's persecution of Buddhism was the first instance of such persecution in history since the death of the Buddha. In this connection the hostile attitude of the *Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra* towards the 'heretical' and 'modern' doctrines (XII, 95-96) are to be marked, as well as verses 261 and 262 of chapter XI, which lay down that a Brahman, who knows one of the three Vedas, does not commit the least sin in killing men.

Apart from the above inference, a conclusive piece of evidence on the subject I found in Tāranātha. Tāranātha's History of Buddhism. Its value lies in the fact that instead of being a general statement about a *pravara*, it speaks definitely of our Pushya-Mitra and his caste. The Brahmin caste of Pushya-Mitra is asserted by Tāranātha in that he describes him to have been the royal *purohita* ("der *Purohita des königs*), and later on clearly calls him the "Brahmin king" (*Brahmanen-könig*)⁸.

(⁸) Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, Ch. XVI.

Apparently Pushya-Mitra was not only an ordinary Brahmin but belonged to the family of the royal chaplain to the Mauryas who, though heterodox since Aśoka's reign, would have retained the family nominally in their old position. This is very likely in view of Aśoka's policy towards Brahmins, whom he, as a rule, places *before* the Samanas, in his inscriptions. Pushya-Mitra's family, at the same time, would have had its source of livelihood so curtailed as to oblige its members to take to other professions, and Pushya-Mitra, it seems, took to that of arms. The family presumably belonged to the neighbourhood of the old capital, Rājagṛiha, as a lady relative of Pushya-Mitra is related by Tāranātha to have come to him from Nālanda.†

*The family of the Śuṅgas is mentioned amongst the Sāma-vedic Brahmins in the Pāṃsa Brāhmaṇa.*⁴ In Vedic Literature. the *Aśvalāyana-Śrauta Sūtras*,⁵ the Śuṅgas are mentioned amongst prominent theological families.⁶

Pāṇini in his grammar, IV-1-117, treats Śuṅga as a branch of the family of Bharadvāja.

The theological importance of the Śuṅga family as gathered from these authorities is to be considered along with the datum of Tāranātha. There could not be any doubt that the Śuṅgas occupied a high position in the ancient theological world, and this lends support to the authorities which are drawn upon by Tāranātha.

Patañjali, who was a contemporary of Pushya-Mitra according to his own illustration, in discussing Pāṇini's rule about *rājya*, (VI-2-130) gives

† Schiefner, p. 81.

⁴ मद्गारः श्रौतयजिः, *Indische Studien*, 433.

⁵ भरद्वाजः शुङ्गाः कृताः शैशिरयः, XII 13, 15, *Indische Studien*, 4, 4, p. 383.

⁶ Mr. Keith points out the *Sauṅgi-putra* in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Up.* (Vedic Index, 2 395). *Sauṅgi* occurs amongst *gahādi gaṇa*, *Gaṇa Pāṭha* to Pāṇini, 4,2,138. Like the *Suṅga* in the *Aśvalāyana Śrauta-Sūtras*, *Sauṅgi* comes in company with *Sisirs* in the *Kāśikā* commentary.

Brāhmaṇa-rājya, rule by Brāhmin King, as the example par excellence. The Kāśikā does not omit the *Kṣatriya-rājya*. The omission in Patañjali, and the extraordinary mention of *Brāhmaṇa-rājya* can easily be explained by the fact that the rājya under which he was living was a *Brāhmaṇa-rājya*.

II—ŚUNGA REVOLUTION AND CRITICISM OF PUSHYA-MITRA'S ACTION.

Now, let us judge Pushya-Mitra with regard to his personal conduct for which he has been called "un-Hindu" or ignoble '*anārya*' by Bāṇa. Should we condemn him downright as an unscrupulous usurper? Or, should we pause a little before pronouncing judgment. Actors of past history cannot come to plead their defence. I think that in fairness to Pushya-Mitra, it has to be said that he occupied an unfortunate position, a position similar to that of Cromwell in English History. Like Cromwell he was a hero and a patriot. Like Cromwell he was the champion of a persecuted religion⁷ and like Cromwell he became an unfortunate regicide and a usurper. The latter is a situation which was forced upon the man by what may be described as a conspiracy of circumstances. Two points are here to be considered: (1) Bṛihadhratha Maurya was killed in sight of the whole army, and therefore, evidently with their approval. The deed had thus a popular character. The unfortunate monarch was so much hated (*duṣṭātmā*, *priyavigrahaḥ*, *adhārmikaḥ*)⁸ that his fall might be regarded as an act of popular vengeance. Then why was Aśoka tolerated despite his 'modern,' 'heretical' despotism? and why were also his several successors suffered to remain on the throne so long? Why should orthodoxy be particularly wrath with Bṛihadhratha and select him alone in inflicting its dire chastisement? To my mind the explanation lies in the presence of the Greeks in the country for the second time and their preparation to take

⁷ The greatest persecution was the abolition of the Yajñas by Aśoka forbidding animal sacrifice.

⁸ *Garga-Saṃhitā*, see full quotation *post*.

Magadha. The time was critical: the Maurya sovereign had remained inactive: the Yavanas were on their march.⁹ The weakness of the sovereign, the critical moment, and the long suffering of the persecuted religion, along with other facts conspired together to bring about the "un-Hindu" deed.

It is impossible to believe that the *Milindapañha* would have been fostered upon the name of Menander without his having embraced Buddhism. It may also be safely accepted that he had established himself in the Punjab with Śākala as his capital before he invaded the land on the Isamus.¹⁰ To get himself firmly rooted in the country, political motive, if nothing else, would have prevailed upon him to adopt a religion which alone could easily reconcile his alien position to his new environments. Now there was Buddhism here, at home, on the throne of Pāṭaliputra, and it was also there on the throne at Śākala. The faith of the throne of Pāṭaliputra agreed with the faith on the throne of Śākala. But the politics of Magadha differed from that of the designing *Mlechchha*. In expressing this antagonism, Magadha emphatically differed not only from the Buddhist *Mlechchha* but also from the Buddhist Maurya. Aśoka had enjoined on his descendants to make conquest by the *Dharma*,¹¹ but here circumstances demanded to make a conquest over the *Dharma*. Under the stress of such cold actualities, the pious, theocratic 'conquerors' of the Maurya family had to vacate the throne for those who could conquer the Yavanas not by the *Dharma* but by the sword.

⁹ I show further that Menander's defeat and Pushya-Mitra's accession fall in the same year.

¹⁰ Cf. *Sacred Books of the East*, *ibid.* 25, pp. XX—XXI.

¹¹ Rock Series Proclamations, XIII. Cf. also *Garga Saṃhitā*—**स्यापयिष्यति मोहात्मा विजयं नाम धार्मिकम्** "The fool will establish the so-called conquest of dharma". See also Manu, VII, 28, where it is said that the king with all his relatives would be killed by *daṇḍa*, if the king has swerved from the *dharma*. There seems to be a play upon the word *daṇḍa*, which means army and executive power. Probably the passage has a double significance, one in the abstract and the other hinting at the destruction of the Maurya by the army.

The throne now vacant was thrust upon the champion of the old persecuted religion. The champion belonged to a class who had not even dreamt of usurping the throne. We do not find the Brahmins claiming any political power in earlier literature. There they only claim a priestly, dependent existence and an immunity from taxes or kingly oppression, for which they are obliged to put forward fictions of a superiority by birth and of a sacredness by profession. But there is not the least vestige of any personal political ambition. It is only in the days of the Buddha that we find Brahmins taking to political public life — a change due probably to the growing dissatisfaction among the learned and intellectual class against the priestly vocation, and also to a growth in population. The sudden departure from those traditions in the time of Pushya-Mitra is explicable only when we take into account the political weakness of the degenerate Mauryas, which encouraged the Bactrians to encamp at Śākala and scheme a conquest of the Āryāvarta,¹³ and the great fact of the absence of the old ruling houses of prestige,¹⁴ one of which could naturally be looked upon to rise equal to the occasion and fill the imperial throne. They had all disappeared by the time of the Nandas : there was no line living which could install itself in the place of the Maurya. The royal family of the Bharatas of Kauśāmbī whose pedigree, as the dramatist Bhāsa says, was traced back to the sacred Veda itself;¹⁵ the ancient Kāśis, the Ikshvākus, and the powerful Vītihotras, and the Haihayas had all been extinguished and extinct. Hence, the

¹³ The "land for the Mlechchha", according to the Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra, was beyond the limits of the Āryāvarta (II, 22.23). This view is peculiar to the Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra amongst the treatises on law, and in my opinion, was an outcome of the defeat of Menander. Also its limits of the Āryāvarta — 'from sea to sea and mountain to mountain' — is a peculiar feature, and is connected, not with any of the former theological definitions but with the political limits of the Empire of the later Mauryas, now devolved upon the Śūngas. Patañjali furnishes contemporary evidence by his comment on Pāṇini, II, 4, 10, where the expulsion of the Greeks and Śakas beyond the frontiers of India is assumed as an accomplished fact.

¹⁴ J. B. O. R. S. I. 89.

¹⁵ J. A. S. B., 1913, 'Plays of Bhāsa'.

occasion being urgent, there happened an abnormal thing ; a Brahmin ascended the imperial throne of the Hindus.

III.—EFFECTS OF THE ŚUNGA REVOLUTION.

The horse-sacrifice ¹⁶ of Pushya-Mitra did not mark only the end of Buddhistic despotism and
 On Buddhism. Buddhistic political weakness, but also commemorated a political victory which was possibly as great as that won in the day of Chandragupta. The political psychology explains the pitiless policy of the Śunga against Buddhism in the North. It is significant that it was at Śākala, the town and base of Menander, that Pushya-Mitra made his notorious declaration setting a price of 100 gold pieces on the head of every Buddhist monk. ¹⁷ Buddhism was dealt with severely for having allied with the Greeks. This unfortunate alliance with politics must have brought discredit on Buddhism. Its indirect conflict with the State would have contributed to its decline in no small degree.

The persecution of Buddhism in the second century B.C. may be thus considered to be a political movement, as distinct from its theological and social struggle which peacefully continued on for centuries, terminating as late as about the ninth century A. C.

With the Maurya dynasty disappeared the Maurya centralization and the Maurya system of administration.
 On Administration. The political norms of the Brahmin régime were not the same as that of the Nandas and the Mauryas. A comparative study of the administrative system and the political theories in the Mānava-Dharma Śāstra on the one hand and in Megasthenes and the Artha-Śāstra on the other, discloses wide contrasts. The Artha-Śāstra system, for instance,

¹⁶ Patañjali, MB. on Pāṇini, 111-2-123 ; cf. Mann, XI, 260, where *Aśvamedha* is said to be a destroyer of all sins.

¹⁷ Burnouf *L' Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, 2nd edition, p. 384.

stood for the "One-King Monarchy".¹⁸ Manu's laws advocate a feudal arrangement, they would reinstate the old dynasties.¹⁹ The former would centralise gambling under the State, the latter looked upon it as immoral. Instances could be multiplied; here however, it would be sufficient to observe that although the Śunga revolution resembles the Maurya revolution, both being products of national crises, the former lacked the cement of the system of the latter. One was mainly destructive, while the other had been pre-eminently constructive.

Orthodoxy politically triumphant created a literature of its own, the total effect of which on Hindu society has been as far-reaching as that of Buddhism, though only destructively in the main. Two pieces of that literature are still living factors in Hindu life: one is the *Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra* and the other is the *Mahā-Bhārata*. We now know that the *brahminisation* of the Epos had been complete long before the rise of the Imperial Guptas of the fifth century A. C. The affinity which the Epos bears in its ultra-Brahmanical tendency²⁰ with the *Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra* makes one feel almost certain that both are product of the same pen or pens. Even if the *brahminisation* of the Epos (as it appears more probable) took place about 100 years later, still it would fall within the span of the Brahmin Empire. Such extravagant claims in favour of the Brahmin caste could not have been tolerated if advanced at a time when their political services had been forgotten.²¹ We must not disregard the moral element which gave life to their hardly

¹⁸ Artha Śāstra, page 338, on *śakravartī-kaṣṭra* which covers the whole of India cf. Śaṅkarārya on the passage quoted on Kāmandaka, I, 39. (Trivandrum, 1912.)

¹⁹ See Manu, VII, 402.

²⁰ Manu, II, 135: 'A Brahmin of ten years stands to a Kshatriya of hundred years as father to son.' VIII, 20: "A Brahmin who subsists only by the name of his caste, etc." I. 100: "Every thing in the world belongs to the Brahmin".

²¹ Brahmins as military leaders and as superior to Kshatriyas in military glory appear for the first time in Hindu Literature in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahā-Bhārata and Bhāṣa, which are all assignable to the Śunga-Kānpa period, though the Mahā-Bhārata bears traces of later interpolations.

moral claims. The people before whom these claims were repeated must have been remembering the great patriotic achievements of Pushya-Mitra with some abiding amount of gratitude.

In its hostile attitude towards the Mauryas and the Śūdras and in its general ultra-orthodox tendency, the *Mahā-Bhāṣya* bears unmistakable marks of the time.

The brahmanisation of the later part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* would also go back to this period.²² Future analyses and research would bring to light the fact that some other pieces and portions of the Brahmanic literature, which have been up to this time attributed to the period of the Guptas, will have to be allotted to the Brahmin Empire of the Śuṅgas and Kāpvas. It was, on the whole, a great literary period in the history of the Sanskrit literature.

(To be continued.)

²² See, for instance, the description of Ayodhyā of *Sāla-mekhala* (the sāl wood palisade) and the deep moat, (I.5.127-3) which echoes the description of Pāṭali-putra, and the abuse on the Buddha (II.109, 34).

III.—Importance of the Jānibighā Inscription of the year 83 of the Lakshmana-Sena era.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

The Jānibighā stone inscription which has been brought to the Patna Museum* from the Mahant of Jānibighā (6 miles east of Bodh-Gaya), is of very great importance to the history of the Sena epoch.

It is dated in the era of Lakshmana-Sena, the year being 83, i.e., the third year (1202 A.C.) after the expedition of Muhammad, the son of Bakhtyar. Muhammad first established himself at the monastic town of Bihar near ancient Nālanda, now in the district of Patna. Beyond Bihar, both north-west and south, his sway did not extend. He had to make raid into Maner (mistaken by Mr. V. Smith for Monghyr)† in the north-west of the Patna district. A few miles to the south the district of Bodh-Gaya remained free under Hindu rule. The conquest of Gaya and Hindu crusades to free it are events of later history. This inscription now proves that the neighbouring district of Gaya remained under a scion of the Sena family in the time of Muhammad *ibn* Bakhtyar. He was Jayasena, son of Buddha-sena.

Now Buddha-sena is mentioned by Tāranātha as a descendant of the Sena family who ruled after the Turushka invasion. Tāranātha does not enumerate Jayasena amongst the Sena princes who became subordinate to the Turushkas. Tāranātha used two special works in Sanskrit on the history of the Pālas and Senas and his information of this portion of history is more trustworthy. The reason of the non-mention of Jayasena seems to be

* By Professor Samaddar of the Patna College.

† *E. H. I.*, 416 (1914).

that he was not a subordinate but independent prince, away from Bengal.

It is significant that Jayasena is called 'king' in the inscription while his father Buddha-sena bears no title.† Buddha-sena, was probably some collateral of the Sena King who ruled c. 1199 A.C., and in 1202 he had not yet any principality of his own under the Turushkas. On the other hand, his son, who would have been originally a governor under the Sena King, on the break-up of the Sena Empire in 1199 A.C. seems to have assumed sovereignty, as he in 1202 (in the inscription) speaks of his own dynasty and contemplates his descendants to be his successors,

Jayasena is called 'King of Piṭhī.' There cannot be any doubt that in the early Sena times Piṭhī denoted the whole of the Province of Bihar (except Mithilā). The commentator to the *Rāmacharita* could not have flourished long after the Pālas for he knows fully the details of the reign of Rāma-Pāla. He always explains (pp. 36, 38) *Piṭhī-pati* as *Magadhādhipa* or the King of Magadha. *Piṭhī* in one inscription* is interchanged with *Piṭhikā*, both meaning 'throne'. It is not unlikely, as Mr. Panday in his note suggests, that the origin of the name was the *Vajrāsana* throne. Gaya thus seems to have been the capital of Magadha during the later Pāla and the Sena periods.

This inscription leaves no doubt that the Lakshmaṇa-sena era was counted, like so many other eras, from the reign of the king whose name it bears. It dates the year in *Lakshmaṇa-senasy-ātīta-rājya-Sam* or "in the expired year of the sovereignty [coronation] of Lakshmaṇa-sena". It leaves no room for a theory as the one advanced by Mr. V. Smith that the era started with the reign of some predecessor of Lakshmaṇa-sena.†

If the era started with the reign of Lakshmaṇa-sena as it is now proved to have done, then it is well nigh impossible to have

‡ For transcript and translation see below Mr. H. Panday's note.

* Sāranāth Insc. E. I. IX. 323.

† E.H.I., App. O.

Lakshmana-sena alive in the 80th year of his era. No king in history ever reached his 80th regnal year, as Mr. V. Smith points out (p. 417). And for a Hindu King it is still more improbable, for according to the orthodox rituals and *śāstrī* injunction he could not be crowned before attaining his 25th year.* The Muhammadan historians felt the difficulty of the long reign theory and they sought to reconcile the 80 years' reign tradition by saying that the period was counted from the birth of the defeated King (Lakhmaniya) (Minhaj-i-Siraj). This is negatived by this inscription. No doubt the real explanation is the one suggested by Kielhorn that the conquest of Nadiah took place in the 80th year of the Lakshmana-sena *era*, as opposed to his *reign*. That would imply that the era-founder had then passed away. This view is supported by the manner of the mention of Lakshmana-sena in our inscription. No honorific is coupled with the name of the founder, which would not have been the case if he had died a year or so back. In the 83rd year of the era he must have been dead for some time. The era had been fully known by that year and Lakshmanasena had already passed to the region of history.

But then who was the king who ran away from Nadiah? The author of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* heard the account some 45 years later than the event and a confusion between the year (80th) of the era and the reign-period of the then reigning sovereign is possible. But the account is substantially true. It is supported by Taranātha who drew on Sanskrit authorities. The conquest was disastrous to the Sena dynasty. The story of a few men entering the palace or camp of the Sena King is not incredible in view of such well-known feats in medieval history of Rajputana. It was a favourite method of Prathirāja, "the winged" prince of Chitore, who used to appear with a few companions suddenly before his victims, Hindu chiefs and Muhammadan kings, and take them prisoners. Such man-lifting was only possible when the catcher had a small group of conspirators.†

* *Prīkṣapattī-Sūtra*, I., 89-90; *Hāthigumphā Ins.*, J. B. O. R. S., III., 454.

† Bakhtyar reached Nadiah in the guise of a horse-dealer. Elliot, II 309.

Its effect was great. The ruler being imprisoned or driven out, as in the case of the Sena king, confusion and panic ensued and the workers in the dark became conquerors.

I do not think the Muhammadans in speaking of *Rāe Lākḥ-māniyā* as the king who was surprised, were inventing a name, or introducing the name of the great king who was no more, to magnify their glory. There must have been a king at the time who bore a name like *Lakḥmaniya*. We know the names of the sons of Lakshmana-sena from the inscriptions. No such name is found. A repetition of the name of Lakshmana-sena was only possible, according to the well-known Hindu custom, in the third generation. A grandson of his could be named after him. Now Tāranātha gives 80 years for Lava-sena I and his three successors. Three sons of Lakshmana-sena are known to have ruled after him. Their records show no trace of a diminished territory. In view of the three successors and the 80 years' period, I propose to identify the *Lava-sena* I with Lakshmana-sena. The Pandit of our Society who makes search for manuscripts in Mithilā and who himself is a Maithila, in mentioning the Lakshmana-sena era, talks about the "Lo' (a) saṁvat". This abbreviation is not only written but pronounced throughout Mithilā. We must bear in mind that 'Lava' is only a restoration from the Tibetan attempt to reproduce the original Hindu sound. The "Lava-sena" of the Tibetan restoration is evidently an abbreviated form, "Lo-(a)-sena", of popular use.

The eightieth year of Tāranātha commences with Lava-sena I and is covered by him and his three successors. Then comes the Turushka invasion and "Lava-sena II", Budha-sena and others. This fits in well with the 83rd year for Jaya-sena, son of Buddha-sena, and Rāe Lakhmaniya. The Lava-sena II, corresponds with Rāe Lakhmaniya and so does the 80th year of Tāranātha with the 80th year of the Muhammadan historians. There was thus after the three sons of the great Lakshmana-Sena, a Sena king who bore the name of *Lakḥmana* or the epithet of *Lākḥshmanēya*, a descendant of Lakshmana. For Lakshmana-Sena, the founder

of the era, to have come three successors before the 80th year, would be quite a natural thing in chronology.

The above chronological thesis seems to me to be conclusively supported by two epigraphical records. The two copper-plates of Viśvarūpa-Sena and Keśava-Sena* have not yet been fully considered by scholars. They furnish decisive evidence as to the Khilji conquest being subsequent to Viśvarūpa-Sena and his successor Keśava-sena, the last two sons of Lakshmana-sena. The town of Gauḍa (*Gaur* of Muhammadan writers) was the Sena capital. The country was called Vaṅga as in Keśava-Sena's Edilpur grant (line 47). The district wherein Gauḍa was situated bore the name of Paundra-varddhana (*ibid.*). The sites of both Gauḍa and Paundra are found in the modern district of Maldah. Now Viśvarūpa-sena and Keśava-sena are styled like their forefathers, 'the lord of Gauḍa'. Further, they make gifts of villages in the very district of the capital. The grant (Edilpur) of the youngest brother is countersigned by an officer who had his office at the capital (Gauḍa-mahā-mattaka). Both grants were issued from the military camp near Phalgu-grāma, away from the capital, probably on the Phalgu river in the district of Gayā. It seems that the Edilpur record was drafted while Viśvarūpa-sena was alive, but was executed later during the next reign, as the name of the new king has been substituted.

Gaur (called also Lakhnauti) † became the capital of Muhammad Khilji, the victor, after the capture of Nadia. The records of the two sons of Lakshmana-Sena therefore must be anterior to the conquest of the Khilji (1199 A. C.). The dates of the two records are the 14th and the 3rd regnal year respectively. Lakshmana-Sena was therefore dead before (1199-17) 1182 A. C. at least. He must have been dead long before, for not only we do not know the full duration of the reign of Keśava-Sena‡ but also the period of the reign of the first son of Lakshmana-Sena.

* J. A. S. B., 1896, I., 9-15; J. P., A. S. B., 1914, 102-103.

† J. R. A. S., 1914, 101.

‡ Keśava-Sena had a short reign. See below.

Let us look at the same records from another point of view. It is stated both by Muhammadan historians and Hindu writers (who were consulted by Taranātha) that the Senas accepted the sovereignty of the Muhammadan after the fall of Nadiāh and Gaudā. Now we find the sons of Lakshmana-Sena described in the copper-plates as being victorious over Muhammadans. This can refer to a period of struggle and success earlier than the Khilji conquest. What was this action which the two brothers had to their credit? The record of Viśvarūpa-Sena answers the question. The victory was over "the House of the Garjha* (or Gargga) Yavanas" (*Garjha-yavanāṇḍṇaya*). Gharj (Gharjistan) and Ghor are mentioned together by Muhammadan writers of the time. Gharj being the more ancient name included Ghor. The "dynasty of Garjha" (or its Sanskritised form *Gargga*) evidently refers to the Ghori dynasty. The kingdom of Kanauj extended up to Benares and was a next-door neighbour to the Sena empire. In 1193 A. C. the Ghori conqueror marched up to Benares but could not proceed farther east, i.e., in the dominions of the Senas. The two Sena brothers would have fought the warrior of the Gharj-Ghori House in that year, or his forces a year or so later i.e., before the throne of Delhi was made over to a new dynasty by the Ghori.

The dynasty whom the great Muhammad Ghori could not defeat on the battle-field was at last subjugated by Muhammad Khilji through stratagem. All the great families of Hindustan had been already reduced by the new victors. The surprise of the great Sena monarch at Nadiāh meant merely the last blow to the already weakened morale of the eastern Hindus. †

Our Jānibhā inscription throws some light on the history of the Bodh-Gaya Shrine in the Middle Ages. The gift of the village is made in favour of the *Fajrāsana* or the Diamond Throne. It was

* Read as Gargga by the Editor of the record. The plate shows that the alleged "agga" may as well be read as "jha" or "jjha." The reproduction is not mechanical and the original copper-plate should be traced and the reading verified.

† The sooth-sayers had begun to prophesy a Turushka conquest!

given in trust into the hand of Maṅgala Svāmin the Bhikṣu, who must have been the guardian of the Diamond Throne. The purpose of the donation was the maintenance of the *adhivasati*, residence or monastery* attached to the Diamond Throne, or the residence of the monk, Maṅgala Svāmin himself (*tadadhivasataye*). This Mahant Maṅgala Svāmin, curiously enough, was a man from Ceylon, noted for his knowledge of the Tripitaka. The line-drawing on the top of the inscription shows the Buddha seated on the Diamond Throne under the Bodhi tree. At present the Diamond Throne is lying detached from the Shrine. Formerly it was, on the evidence of this drawing, beneath the statue of the Buddha under the Bodhi tree. The monk who received the gift on behalf of the *Vajrāsana*, was necessarily the guardian of the whole Shrine at Bodh-Gaya. It is interesting to note that Hina-yāna school still held the shrine and abbots for their knowledge of the Tripitaka were imported from Ceylon as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The Buddhist guardianship of the shrine seems to have come to an end in the fourteenth century. The shrine as a Buddhist institution survived Hindu revolutions. Even the brahmanical Senas respected and supported it. It fell only when the Hindu power fell before the Islamic zeal. The possession of the orthodox Sannyāsins, which continues to this day,* probably originated during the period of the rehabilitation of Gaya by Hindu crusaders under Rajputana warriors.

The gift does not prove that the donor was necessarily a Buddhist. The inscription is a mere advertisement. The grant was made through a regular *Śāsana* or Charter. The inscription was drafted by Vajrāsana authorities to be fixed as a public notice on the spot. The temple authorities preferred Sanskrit to Prakrit, as Sanskrit was more easily understood at the time.

I have no doubt that the real site of the inscription and the village granted was Janibighā from where it has been dug out (see Mr. Panday's note).

* Cf. *Vasati* for Jain monastery.

IV.—The Janibigha Inscription.

By H. Panday, B.A.

The modern village of Jānibighā in the District of Gaya, situated some six miles to the east of Bodh-Gaya, is of comparatively recent growth, having been founded by one of the Mahanths of Jānibighā. In the fields east of the village, "iron chains, small pieces of images and many other relics" are said to be found from time to time. The stone bearing the inscription lay buried in the ground "under a date palm tree, on a small piece of uncultivated land" with only a small portion of it jutting out. Here the stone rested undisturbed—most probably owing to the superstitious dread of the villagers—until some three years ago when the Mahanth, the proprietor of the village, out of curiosity, dug it out.*

It is due to the generosity of the Mahanth that the stone has now been secured for the Patna Museum and is preserved there.

It is a shaft of greyish black sandstone, rectangular in section, resembling in appearance a boundary pillar, and measures 3' 1½" high × 9½" broad, and 6" thick. The face on which the inscription is carved is dressed smooth save for about 11½" at the bottom which is rough dressed, evidently intended to be buried in the ground. At the top it is cut away to form a rough knob.† The back of the stone is hammer-dressed as also one of the sides, the other side being chisel-dressed like the bottom.

The inscription covers a space of 9½" × 7½" and contains 14 lines of writing. Above the record is an incised drawing

* This paragraph is based on information contained in a paper read by a student of the Patna College before the Patna College Archaeological Society on the 25th November 1917 kindly supplied to me by Principal V. H. Jackson.

† This may be the result of modern mischief.

representing the Buddha seated in the *Bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā* on the Diamond Throne (the *Vajrāsana*) under the Bodhi tree (the *pīṭha* or *Ficus Religiosa*) which is invoked in the opening stanza.

The figure of the Buddha bears a resemblance to the conventional form met with in sculptures of the Magadha school which flourished during the reign of the Pālas. The treatment of the limbs of the Buddha is comparatively more realistic than the crude representation of the tree in which the leaves are all depicted flat and are out of all proportion to the branches from which they spring. The halo round the head of the Buddha is represented by an incised line, and another line, drawn round the body and touching the knees, is most probably meant to represent the light which, as the legends say, shone forth from the person of the Buddha when he summoned the Earth to witness his firm resolve to attain Enlightenment. To the right and left proper of the Buddha are representations of the sun and the moon symbolical of the perpetuity of the gift referred to in the text.

The drawing at the bottom of the record is a crude illustration of the curse pronounced upon the person who violates the grant made through the charter (lines 12-13), a conventional design commonly met with in land-grants and boundary pillars of the mediæval period found in this province* and also in Southern India.

The inscription has not suffered any damage from time or the elements with the exception of two letters in lines 9 and 10 which have been partially affected by the stone peeling off in their immediate vicinity. During transit, however, from Gaya to the Patna Museum the stone broke in two, but fortunately the resultant fissure which is observable in the facsimile reproduced on the accompanying plate is not very serious. I have also had the advantage of checking my reading with an ink impression (not clear enough for reproduction) of the inscription taken before the stone was broken which was given me by my friend Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-law, to whom I owe

* E.g., the boundary pillars in the Patna Museum.

this opportunity to edit the inscription. To the same scholar my thanks are also due for some valuable suggestions.

The inscription records the grant of a village named Kotthalā in the district (?) of Saptaghatta for the maintenance of the Diamond Throne and the monastery attached thereto, to the Ceylonese monk Maṅgala Svāmin by King Jayasena, son of Buddhasena, Lord of Pithi on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the 83rd expired year of the Lakshmanasena era (November, 1202 A. C.). The late Dr. Kielhorn has proved and scholars have accepted it that the Lakshmanasena era began on the 7th October 1119 A. C. This calculation is based on the verification of a number of *tithis* and the corresponding days in several records dated in the Lakshmanasena era*. It must be noted, however, that the earliest epigraphical record in which this era is found along with the Śaka, the Samvat (Vikrama) and the San (Fasli) would put the commencement of the Lakshmanasena era 13 years earlier, in 1106 A. C.†

The language of the record is Sanskrit and with the exception of *Om Svasti* in the beginning and the passage at the end giving the date, the whole is in verse—the metres employed being the *Upajāti*, *Sragdharā*, and *Anuṣṭubh*. The characters belong to that variety of the Nāgarī script of Eastern India from which both the Maithili and the Bengali scripts have sprung. The size of the letters varies from $\frac{7}{16}$ " to $\frac{11}{16}$ ". The forms of the letters in this record bear a family likeness to those in the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena (the first Sena); a few forms, *dha*, *sa*, resembling those in Vaidyadeva's land grant of 1142 A.C.,‡ while some are later developments more akin to the modern Maithili and Bengali such as *cha*, *ṣa*, *kha* and *tra*. Only one sign is used for *v* and *b*. There are only four orthographical mistakes in the whole record:—(1) in line 1 the anusvāra on-*mpa* is a mistake; (2) in line 7 the form of *sa* in

* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 1 ff.

This is the Bisapi grant of Śivasimha of Mithilā dated in L. S. 298, Śaka 1321, Samvat 1455 and San 807. See *Ind. Ant.* 1885, p. 191.

The evidence of the present day almanacs of Mithilā is conflicting.

‡ See Bühler's *Tables*.

nīroyājāḥ resembles that of *va*; (3) in line 14 *na* in *Lakṣmaṇa-sena* resembles a *sa*; (4) in line 14 *s* in *Sudī* is a mistake for *ś*. The following are also worthy of notice:— The triangle is used to denote *u* in *purāṇaḥ* (l. 1); the slanting stroke to the right resembling the one used in modern Bengali is employed in *duṣṭa* (l. 11); while in *sudī* (l. 14) it is shaped more like the modern Devanāgarī *u* stroke. The *a*, *i*, *u*, *ri*, *e*, and *o* strokes are similar to the modern Bengali. The *anusvāra* is placed sometimes on and sometimes above the line; but the *anusvāra-virāma* is nowhere used. The symbol for *Om* in l. 1 is different from that in the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena, but resembles the sign which is used in this place on copper plates of the 11th and 12th centuries A. C. and even earlier.

The *repha* is placed above the line in all the four instances that it occurs in the inscription (ll. 5, 7, 10, and 14).*

Historically this monument is of exceptional interest.† It proves the continuity of Sena rule in Bihar after the raid of Muhammad-ibn-Bakhtyar and the alleged capture of Nudiah

* The following conjunct letters occur in this inscription:—

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>kra</i> (l. 12); | (19) <i>ndra</i> (l. 5); |
| (2) <i>kaḥa</i> (l. 6); | (20) <i>nma</i> (l. 1); |
| (3) <i>kaḥma</i> (l. 13); | (21) <i>pta</i> (l. 8); |
| (4) <i>gra</i> (ll. 5 and 9); | (22) <i>pra</i> (ll. 1 and 5); |
| (5) <i>gva</i> (l. 10); | (23) <i>mpa</i> (l. 1); |
| (6) <i>ṅga</i> (l. 6); | (24) <i>rkka</i> (l. 5); |
| (7) <i>jā</i> (l. 7); | (25) <i>rtta</i> (l. 14); |
| (8) <i>jya</i> (l. 14); | (26) <i>rya</i> (l. 10); |
| (9) <i>jra</i> (l. 5); | (27) <i>roya</i> (l. 7); |
| (10) <i>ṭta</i> (l. 8); | (28) <i>vya</i> (l. 12); |
| (11) <i>ṭṭha</i> (l. 4); | (29) <i>śra</i> (ll. 1, 4 and 6); |
| (12) <i>ṭta</i> (ll. 5 and 9); | (30) <i>śḥa</i> (ll. 11 and 12); |
| (13) <i>tma</i> (l. 8); | (31) <i>śta</i> (ll. 1, 3, 5 and 6); |
| (14) <i>tya</i> (l. 7); | (32) <i>śṭha</i> (ll. 2 and 4); |
| (15) <i>tra</i> (ll. 3, 7, and 12); | (33) <i>śya</i> (ll. 6, 12, and 14); |
| (16) <i>ddha</i> (l. 8); | (34) <i>śva</i> (ll. 1 and 6); |
| (17) <i>dva</i> (l. 4); | (35) <i>ḥya</i> (l. 2). |
| (18) <i>dḥva</i> (l. 2); | |

† As these points have been dealt with in Mr. Jayaswal's note on this inscription, only a few of them have been briefly noticed here.

in 1199 A. C. Tāranātha mentions the name of Budhasena after that of Layasena II who came after the Turushka raid. The donor of our inscription calls himself the son of Buddhasena, presumably the same king whom Tāranātha has mentioned. It is dated in Lakshmanasena Samvat 83. This proves that Jayasena was reigning 83 years after the coronation of Lakshmanasena. In the face of this record of Jayasena, son of Buddhasena, dated in the 83rd year of the Lakshmanasena era, it does not appear to me reasonable to hold that Lakshmanasena ruled for 80 years and was defeated by Muhammad-ibn-Bakhtyar. The account of the Muhammadan historians has therefore to be modified in the light of definite epigraphic evidence,* and the view that Lakshmanasena died in peace and was not driven by Bakhtiyar Khilji from Nudiah appears to receive support from this record. The chronology of this period of Indian history still remains to be settled by further discoveries of this kind and it is not too much to hope for such discoveries in a region which still remains to be properly explored.

Jayasena is called Pīṭhīpati in this inscription. The meaning of this expression is, however, not perfectly certain. It has been held by Mr. Banerji† that Pīṭhīpati means "ruler of Pīṭhī" and the same scholar has suggested that Pīṭhī may have been a buffer state between those of Kānyakubja and Gauda‡. Our record proves that the sites of the modern village of Jānībighā and also Bodh-Gaya were included in the country called Pīṭhī. As such, it appears to have been the name given to the southern portion of Magadha at least at about this time, probably on account of its association with the Vajrāsana (the Pīṭhī, "throne" on which Gautama attained Buddhahood)‡. It is possible that Pīṭhī is not the name of any particular country and that Pīṭhīpati

* Cf. R. D. Banerji, *Madhainagar grant of Lakshmana Sena*, *J. A. S. B.*, December 1909, pp. 470-1; and *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 299.

† The *Pālas of Bengal*, *Memoirs As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 86-89.

‡ Mr. Banerji's identification with Tirhut (*Pālas of Bengal*, p. 87) is obviously wrong. Pīṭhī has to be located near Gaya or to the south of it.

was the title of the king who was the protector of the Diamond Throne at Bodh-Gaya. That such a king must have ruled over territory contiguous to or including the country immediately round Bodh-Gaya goes without saying. It may be noted in this connexion that Pīṭhīpati has so far been found only in Buddhist writings and inscriptions.

The donee of the grant is the Ceylonese Master of the Tripitaka Maṅgala Svāmin, who was probably resident at Bodh-Gaya and seems to have been the abbot then in charge of the monastery at Bodh-Gaya established during the reign of Emperor Samudra Gupta by Meghavarna, the Buddhist king of Ceylon.*

The village which was the object of the gift is named Koṭṭhalā. It remains unidentified. The Saptaghaṭṭa mentioned in the inscription is probably the designation of the district in which the village of Koṭṭhalā was situated. *Ghaṭṭa* may stand for a "ferry" or "crossing" or for a "mountain-pass" and *sapta* means "seven". It is probable that the range of hills which rises from the vicinity of Bodh-Gaya may have been responsible in some way for this nomenclature. The epithet *Satyavāk* used to qualify Jayasena may be compared with the same epithet in the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena†.

* "In the reign of Samudra Gupta, a great monastery was constructed close to this temple by the Cingalese about the year 380 A. D. This monastery was built by Meghavarna, the Buddhist king of Ceylon, in consequence of the complaints made by two monks whom he had sent to do homage to the Diamond Throne and to visit the monastery built by Asoka at Bodh-Gaya. On their return, they informed the king that they could find no place where they could stay in comfort, and the king resolved to found a monastery where his subjects could reside when on pilgrimage. An embassy was sent to Samudragupta and the required permission having been given, Meghavarna erected a splendid monastery to the north of the Bodhi tree. This building which was three storeys in height, included six halls, was adorned with three towers, and surrounded by a strong wall 80 or 40 feet high. The decorations were executed in rich colours with high artistic skill, the statue of Buddha, cast in gold and silver, was studded with gems, and the subsidiary stupas, enshrining relics of Buddha himself were worthy of the principal edifice."—

District Gazetteer of Gaya, p. 47.

† *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 308.

TEXT.

Line 1. ॐ स्वस्ति ॥ ~~अनन्तरं~~ बोधिप्रदं पुरातनं परमं^१ (अथ)

2. दीप्तं नियतं जिनाणां । अथस्वितानां स्मृति-

3. रस्ति यच्च संबोधये बोधितरोक्षजं च ॥

4. श्रीमद्भगवताय अथजलसहितः कोट्य-

5. ला ग्राम एव आचम्यान् प्रदत्तस्तद्विवक्ष्य-

6. ये मङ्गलस्त्रामिभिद्योः । इत्ये श्रीविंशत्य-

7. त्रिपिटककृतिनः शासनीकृत्य राज्ञा नि^२र्वा-

8. णः सप्तवट्टे हस्तकरक [लि] तो बुद्धसिनात्मजे-

9. [न] ॥ इत्तो^३ दानमिमं ग्रामं जयसेनः च भूपतिः ।

10. [पौ] ठी पतिरुवाचैदमाचार्यः सत्यवाग्बुधः ॥ नैशे

11. मदीये यदि कोपिभयः श्रियोऽथवा दुष्टत-

12. रो विनष्टः । यतिक्रमं चात्र करोति तस्य ता-

13. तः खरः सकरिका च माता ॥ ४ ॥ लक्ष्य-

14. सेन^४ स्यात्तौतराण्य सं न्ह कार्त्तिक शुदि^५ १५

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! Majestic (is) the shade of the Bodhi tree (which is) the ancient, invariable bestower of Mahābodhi (Supreme Enlightenment) to the Conquerors (*Jinas*) and which is the stay of those who are on the road to (attain) Sambodhi (v. 1).

¹ The *anuvāra* is evidently a mistake.

² The letter looks like a च. It is evidently a mistake for न.

³ Read इत्वा.

⁴ The sign here resembles the symbol for 4 used in inscriptions of this period, but the incision is not deep. The fourth verse of the record ends here.

⁵ The form of this letter makes a near approach to ख. But there cannot be any doubt as to its being intended for न. Compare also the न in निर्वाणः (l. 8).

⁶ Read इदि.

This village of Koṭṭhala, with land and water, without any reservation, together with the plough-tax, in Saptaghaṭṭa, is granted by charter to the majestic Diamond Throne for its monastery, in trust of Monk Maṅgala Svāmin of Ceylon, Master of the Tripitaka, by the King, the son of Buddhasena, for as long as the sun and the moon endure (v. 2).

Having made a gift of this village the learned king Jayasena, the Lord of Piṭhī, true to his promise, spoke thus : (v. 3)

‘ Whichsoever king of my dynas y, good, bad or worthless, violates this (grant), his father (should be considered) an ass and his mother a sow (v. 4).’

(On) the 15th day of the bright half of Kārttika, Lakshmana-sena Samvat 88 expired.

V.—Daud Khan Quraishi, Governor of Bihar and Founder of the Town of Daudnagar.

By Khan Bahadur Saiyid Zamiruddin Ahmad.

Daud Khan came of a Quraish family of Hisar-i-Feroza on the north-western frontier of India. His father was Bhikhan Khan. ⁽¹⁾ He began life in the service of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and received his baptism of fire in the battle fought at Dholpur between Khan-i-Jahan and the Imperial forces. After Khan-i-Jahan's death he joined the service of Dara Shikoh during the latter's heir-apparency. In the 30th year of Shah Jahan's reign he was appointed to the Faujdari of Mathura, Mahaban, Jalesar and some other Mahals that had been transferred to the jagir of Dara Shikoh on the death of Sadullah Khan. He was further given charge of the communications (*rāhdārī*) between Agra and Delhi, with 2,000 horsemen. The same year, on the recommendation of Dara Shikoh, he was given the title of "Khan". ⁽²⁾

In the latter half of the eleventh century A.H., when Shah Jahan was ailing, a dispute arose among his sons as to the succession. Each of them wanted to make his way to the throne by crushing the others. Aurangzeb was then in the Deccan. He was too shrewd to be outwitted and crushed by his brothers, nor was he a man to let others steal a march upon him. No sooner did he get reliable information ⁽³⁾ that the Emperor was

⁽¹⁾ This is *Mā'sir-ul-Umara's* version, but in the *Tarikh-i-Daudia*, written by Saiyid Muhammad Nasir Bilgrami, printed at the Aini Press, Allahabad, it is stated that Bhikhan Khan was the elder brother of Daud Khan, and that both were sons of Kabir Khan, son of Farid Khan, son of Rāzin Khan.

⁽²⁾ *Mā'sir-ul-Umara*, Patna Oriental Library MS., pp. 158-59.

⁽³⁾ *Alamgirnama*, p.p. 85 and 291.

too weak to attend to the affairs of State, and that he was simply a tool in the hands of Dara Shikoh, who was using his name to promote his own interests, than he started, after making full preparations, for the Imperial Court. On his way ⁽¹⁾ up he seized almost all the important towns and forts that he passed *en route*, and emptied them of all the treasure and ammunition kept there. When Dara Shikoh, who was with his father in the capital, heard of the manner of Aurangzeb's approach, he at once suspected him of evil intentions, and prepared to intercept him on his way. Shah Jahan tried to dissuade him from taking this step, but Dara, paying no heed to his father's advise, at length marched ⁽²⁾ out in command of a strong force with some of the Imperial generals, and Daud Khan and Askar Khan of his own service, to stop Aurangzeb.

On the 7th Ramzan, ⁽³⁾ 1068 A.H., a pitched battle was fought between the two brothers at Dabalpur near the river Chambal. Daud fought in this battle with great intrepidity. The battle, however, went against Dara Shikoh, who was no match for Aurangzeb, that past master in the school of hard fighting. Dara fled from the field ⁽⁴⁾ to Agra, but he stopped there only for a few hours, escaping the same night with a dozen of his trusted servants and his family to Delhi. ⁽⁵⁾ He did not even call on Shah Jahan before his flight. He carried away with him, however, whatever money, jewels and valuables he could lay his hands on. Daud Khan and others joined him later on. He did not stay long at Delhi: hearing that Aurangzeb was approaching in his pursuit, he ⁽⁶⁾ pushed on into the Punjab. On his way he left Daud Khan, who was one of his best generals, with a detachment of troops at Talun. ⁽⁷⁾ to check the pursuing army in its passage across a river, and thus enable

(1) *Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin*, pp. 291—296

(2) *Alamgirnama*, pp. 84-85

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 85.

(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 94—105.

(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 120.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 125

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 143.

him to gain time at Lahore, in order to seize the royal exchequer there and fit out a strong army to face his brother. But the passage of Aurangzeb's army was not checked, as Dara Shikoh himself shortly after summoned ⁽¹⁾ Daud Khan to Lahore, and the crossing of the river was thus left undisputed. ⁽²⁾ Daud Khan was now sent with a detachment to the river Bayah. ⁽³⁾ When he examined the position, however, he found it strategically untenable, and reported the fact to Dara Shikoh. He was ordered, in the circumstances to proceed ⁽⁴⁾ to Gobindval in company with Sipahr Shikoh and intercept the enemy there. He reached the place, but before the enemy came up, Dara recalled ⁽⁵⁾ Sipahr Shikoh to Lahore, and taking him along with him, left with all the artillery and valuables, for Multan, ⁽⁶⁾ sending at the same time instructions to Daud Khan to remain on the bank of the river for some time, and to join him later, after burning or sinking all the ferry boats that he could find. Daud carried out the instructions of his master, and joined ⁽⁷⁾ him at Multan. Dara being again pressed left for Bhakkhar, ⁽⁸⁾ but he soon found this place also too hot for him. It was here that in the first week of Muharram, 1069 A.H., Daud Khan with others deserted ⁽⁹⁾ Dara Shikoh. Daud went away to his home at Hisar-i-Feroza *viâ* Jesalmir. Shortly afterwards he became reconciled ⁽¹⁰⁾ with Aurangzeb, who sent him a *khil'at*.

On the 27th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1069 A.H., Daud Khan came to Aurangzeb's court and was rewarded with a robe of honour, ⁽¹¹⁾

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| (1) Alamgirnama, | p. 182. |
| (2) <i>Ibid</i> , | p. 182. |
| (3) <i>Ibid</i> | p. 182. |
| (4) <i>Ibid</i> , | p. 183. |
| (5) <i>Ibid</i> , | pp. 185 and 186. |
| (6) <i>Ibid</i> , | p. 186 and Masir-i-Alamgiri, p. 10. |
| (7) <i>Ibid</i> , | p. 188. |
| (8) Masir-i-Alamgiri, | p. 11. |
| (9) Ditto, | p. 16. |
| (10) Alamgirnama, | p. 221. |
| (11) Ditto, | pp. 280-281. |

a sword, and "Mansab" of *Charhazari* ⁽¹⁾ *seh-hazar sawar*. From this date his services to the State began, and he took rank with the other generals and grandees of the Imperial court.

In the following month ⁽²⁾ he accompanied Aurangzeb in his operations against Shah Shuja, and fought with great ability and dash, in command of the right wing of Aurangzeb's army in the battle that took place near Khujwa, proving himself a general of resource and personal bravery. Shuja was routed, and fled from the field. Alamgir deputed a strong force under the supreme command of his son Muhammad Sultan ⁽³⁾ in his pursuit. Daud ⁽⁴⁾ and other famous generals accompanied this expedition.

After his defeat Shuja went to Allahabad, but he found the capture of the fort there a difficult matter. The commandant ⁽⁵⁾ of the fort, who had been on his side before, and on whose fidelity he had counted, had turned against him since his recent defeat, and gave him the cold shoulder. The pursuing army was also close on his heels and Shuja retreated towards Bengal. In the meanwhile an Imperial order was received appointing ⁽⁶⁾ the Khan-i-Dauran and Daud Khan to the Subadaris of Allahabad and Patna, respectively. Daud Khan was ordered to take over charge of his new office at once on his arrival at Patna. He

⁽¹⁾ *Charhazari* was a 'mansab'. The pay of each 'Amir' was fixed according to his 'mansab'. Every 'mansabdār' was bound to keep horses, camels, mules and chhukrās (carriage) on the scale fixed for the 'mansab' he held. Besides this he got permission under an Imperial 'Firman' to keep with him a number of cavalry and infantry. The pay of this army the 'mansabdār' realized from the Imperial exchequer. The rates of pay were usually as follows:—(1) Cavalry from Rs. 12 to Rs. 30 and (2) Infantry from Rs. 6 to Rs. 12-8-0. From time to time there used to be increments in the 'mansab' as well as in this army. Here *Seh hazar sawar* indicates that the holder of this 'mansab' was allowed to have 3,000 horse under his command. "Umarai-Hanud": Printed at the Nani Press, Cawnpore, p. 381.

⁽²⁾ Alamgirnāma, pp. 244 and 265.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid*, p. 266.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid*, p. 269.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid*, p. 285.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid*, p. 286.

was further granted an increment of a thousand troopers, who were to be *do-aspa* and ⁽¹⁾ *seh-aspa*.

The appointment of Daud Khan as Subadar of Bihar must surely have been made on some weighty political grounds, else to trust the charge of such a province, which was in the throes of political convulsion, at a time when Aurangzeb was not yet securely seated in his saddle, to a man who had shortly before been fighting against him in behalf of another claimant, who, though defeated, was still alive, would have been a very risky step. Let us take a brief survey of the general condition of affairs at the time. All the provinces of the Empire were then passing through a period of unrest and agitation owing to the dispute for the crown between the royal brothers. The collapse of the civil authority was inevitable under such conditions; and it was but natural that local ambitions chiefs should break out into acts of lawlessness and defiance of authority. To aggravate the situation in Bihar, Shah Shuja was still giving trouble both within and without the province. A man familiar with the affairs of the province, endowed with powers of administration and organization, and tried in the field of battle was required to keep Shah Shuja in check, to curb the unruly and to pacify the masses. Daud Khan who had previously been in the service of Dara Shikoh, must have been in touch with the province and its people, as Dara had of latter years, with the connivance of Shah Jahan, been meddling with the governance of the several provinces of the Empire. Daud had, moreover, already given proof of considerable powers of organization and administration as a Faujdar and as officer in charge of *rahdari* during the last reign. Aurangzeb knew that in a polity where personal rule prevails, the character of the head of the Government, his temperament, his personality and his outlook upon affairs count for everything. These are the determining factors which influence the fortunes and happiness of the people committed to his charge.

(1) *Do-aspa* and *seh-aspa* indicate the number of horses each soldier was entitled to have, and to draw the expenses for, from the Imperial exchequer.

Considerations such as these probably weighed with Aurangzeb in his selection of Daud Khan as the right man for the place.

Towards the close of the year 1069 A.H., when Muhammad Sultan, who was sent to crush Shuja, as stated above, went over to the camp of the latter, whose headquarters were then at Tanda, the Emperor sent an urgent order to Daud Khan to hasten from Patna, ⁽¹⁾ to the help of the Khan-i-Khanan, Muazzam Khan. Leaving ⁽²⁾ his nephew, Shaikh Muhammad Hayat, with 1,500 horses and 2,000 foot as his Deputy at Patna, Daud Khan, in obedience to the Imperial command, crossed the Ganges near the city with all the auxiliary troops (*kumaki*) that he could collect. By this time the monsoon ⁽³⁾ had set in. The march was particularly trying, and it was very difficult to move without boats. Daud Khan stopped ⁽⁴⁾ at a village near Bhagalpur as, owing to heavy rain, the river Kosi was in flood and the surrounding country was inundated. When Shuja crossed the river and seized Akbarnagar ⁽⁵⁾ (Rajmahal), Daud Khan also crossed the Ganges and spent some time between Bhagalpur and Kahalgaon (Colgong). When the river became fordable a battle ⁽⁶⁾ was fought between Khan-i-Khanan and Shah Shuja, wherein the latter was defeated. Daud Khan meanwhile again crossed ⁽⁷⁾ the Ganges, and proceeding northward, joined the Khan-i-Khanan. The enemy's trenches on the bank of the Mahanadi ⁽⁸⁾ were captured, and later on Maldah ⁽⁹⁾ and other important places taken. From this time till Shah Shuja's flight to Arakan, Daud Khan continued to co-operate with the Khan-i-Khanan and behaved throughout the campaign with the greatest bravery

⁽¹⁾ Alamgirnama, p. 513.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid*, p. 513 and Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin, p. 327.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid*, pp. 513-514.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid*, p. 514.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid*, p. 514.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid*, p. 514.

⁽⁷⁾ *Ibid*, p. 514.

⁽⁸⁾ *Ibid*, p. 514 and Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin.

⁽⁹⁾ *Ibid*, p. 514.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Ibid*, pp. 628-660.

and credit. After the successful termination of the expedition he, amongst others, was rewarded by Aurangzeb with a robe of honour and a "Shamsher-i-murassa" (a jewelled scimitar).

The most important event of Daud Khan's governorship of Patna was the conquest of Palamau and its annexation to the Mughal empire. It was in this campaign that he gave such signal proof of that martial spirit, intrepidity, quick decision and power of leadership which he was destined to show in so many future actions.

Palamau in those days seems to have included a much larger area than is comprised within the present district of that name, and to have extended northwards to within about 80 miles of Patna. The whole country was hilly and densely wooded. The dominant race in those parts at the time were the Cheros. The lords of the soil were not in the habit of showing any deference to the Imperial officers, and counting upon the immunity afforded to them by their forts and the difficulties of access to their country, they often molested the Imperial territories. Once during the reign of Shah Jahan, Shista Khan, the then governor of Patna, led an expeditionary force against the local chieftain, but failed to subdue him totally. Still he exacted from him an indemnity of Rs. 80,000. Since then no tribute had been paid into the Imperial exchequer. Daud Khan was ordered to march with all the Imperial regular troops and auxiliaries stationed in his province to Palamau and conquer and annex that territory.

On the receipt of the Imperial order Daud Khan started on the 2nd Shaban, 1071 A.H., for Palamau. He took with him Mirza Khan, Faujdar of Darbhanga, Tahawwur Khan, Jagirdar of Chainpur, Raja Bihroz, ⁽¹⁾ Zamindar of Monghyr, Imperial troops, zamindars and the provincial auxiliaries. The town of Palamau was about 100 miles from Patna. There were two

NOTE.—In calculating distances, the *Kuroh* has been taken to be about 2½ miles.

(1) His father Rajah Firoz, on the death of his father Rajah Sungram, was brought up by Akbar and when he came of age, he accepted *Islam*. (Umari-Hisud, pp. 218-219).

strong forts in the vicinity of the town, one on a neighbouring hill and the other on the plain. A big river flowed below the two forts and both of them were surrounded by lofty hills and dense forest. Three other forts were close to the borders of the province of Bihar; viz.,

- (1) Kothi fort, which was at a distance of about 50 miles from Palamau,
- (2) Kunda fort which was about 18 miles from the Kothi fort to the eastward,
- (3) Deokan fort which was at a distance of about 25 miles from the Kothi fort to the westward.

Daud Khan decided to capture the Kothi fort first. He arrived in front of that fort on the 5th of Ramzan. The enemy being alarmed by the news of a huge army marching against them, had evacuated the fort and fled long before the arrival of Daud Khan. The fort was thus captured without a struggle. Daud Khan having made arrangements for holding it, next proceeded against the Kunda fort. This fort was built on the top of a hill, and was strongly garrisoned and provided with weapons of defence. Though the distance from Kothi to this fort was only 20 miles, yet the route lay through dense forest, and about half way passed by a narrow defile over a high ridge. Daud Khan had, therefore, first to cut the forest and clear the road, and then to move on with his army. As soon as about two miles of the forest had been cleared the enemy became frightened and abandoned that fort also. Daud arrived at the fort on the 4th of Shawal and occupied it. Having regard to the situation of the fort he deemed it safest to dismantle it, which was accordingly done. As the rains had set in by this time, he decided to halt at this place, and wait till the rainy season was over before resuming operations. Between Kunda and Kothi he had mud forts erected every 7 or 8 miles. Each of these forts he garrisoned with 100 horsemen of his own, together with musketeers and some zamindars, with instructions to convoy provisions from the base camp and to guard the road from attack.

At the end of the rainy season when it became possible to advance, Daud Khan made preparations to attack and storm Palamau. The local chieftain, on hearing of the approach of the invading army, made overtures to Daud Khan through an emissary, offering an annual tribute, and promising subordinate co-operation in future, on condition that Daud took his army back to his own province. Daud Khan did not accept the proposals, and on the 1st Rabi-ul-Awwal, after making all necessary arrangements started for Palamau. Mirza Khan was appointed to lead the van with 300 horse and 200 foot. Tahawwur Khan, with 700 horse and 300 foot, was given command of the right wing; while Shaikh Tatar, nephew of Daud Khan, with 500 horse from Daud's own contingent, together with Raja Bihroz, with 400 horse and 1,500 foot, was given charge of the left wing. In the centre was Daud Khan himself with 1,000 horse. Five hundred horsemen of his own contingent formed the rear guard. A number of wood-cutters in charge of Imperial officers and the Khan's own men were ordered to clear the forest and make a road to Palamau, so that the enemy might not have cover to lay an ambush and harass the army on the march. Posts were also established along the route, and garrisoned with troops. The army advanced only a short distance each day, as they had to clear the forest and make a road as they went. Wherever they halted in the evening they threw up an entrenched camp to guard against surprise. In this way they covered about 20 miles in 9 days.

On the 9th of the month they reached the village Narsi, ⁽¹⁾ whence Palamau fort was 17 or 18 miles distant, and encamped there. On the arrival of the invading army at this place the chieftain became alarmed, and sent his trusted and confidential Vakil, Surat Singh, to Daud Khan, imploring him to treat and assuring him of subordinate co-operation in future. Raja Bihroz was also won over to intercede with the Khan. The chief further offered to pay one lakh of rupees as *pesbakh* to the Emperor, and half a lakh to Daud Khan. The latter reported the offer

* ⁽¹⁾ Alangirnama, p. 658.

to the Imperial court, and waited a while for the Emperor's reply. Meanwhile he received information that about 17 or 18 miles from his encampment the enemy had attacked and plundered a convey of provisions for the army. The chief apologised for this act through his Vakil, and asserted that it had been committed without his knowledge or instructions. He further sent over Rs. 50,000 out of the promised *peshkash* to appease the anger of Daud Khan. But the latter did not accept the apology, and prepared to punish the offence.

On the 8th of Rabi-us-Sani he advanced from Narsi and came to a valley some 7 or 8 miles from Palanau fort. On the 16th of the same month he moved forward a couple of miles, and encamped there. The enemy came out of the fort, and took up a position at a distance of a mile from Daud's army, throwing up entrenchments and making preparations for resistance. In the meantime the Emperor's reply was received, which was to the effect that if the chieftain was willing to adopt Islam, his proposal should be accepted, otherwise not. Daud Khan communicated this order to the chief, and waited for his reply. But the invading army was impatient to fight, and reluctant to sit idle. On the 24th of Rabi-us-Sani, Tahawwur Khan "Birlas" launched an attack on the enemy near their entrenchment without Daud Khan's knowledge. When Daud heard of this he immediately hastened forward, and entrenched his troops at a distance of a musket's shot from the enemy's line, and then proceeded to storm their position. The fight lasted from 9 A.M. to sunset, and as Tahawwur Khan was very close to the enemy's line, 16 of his followers were killed, and many wounded. After dark the invading army retired to their encampment. In the dead of night the enemy brought up two cannons from the fort, and began to bombard the Imperial army. Some of the men, both cavalry and infantry, and some horses were killed. As Daud's troops were on lower ground, they were at the mercy of this artillery fire. Next morning Daud Khan took in the situation, and launched a series of attacks on the position, the enemy had taken up on the top of the neighbouring hill, carrying it at the

point of the sword. He then mounted some of his own guns there, and began to bombard the enemy's lines. By the 27th of the month the enemy began to lose courage, and retreated further back, entrenching themselves on the back of the river that flowed by the foot of the fort. The road from Daud Khan's encampment to this entrenchment lay through thick forest. Two or three days were spent in having the jungle cleared. On the 1st of Jamadi-ul-Awwal, when the road became passable for troops, Daud advanced and attacked the enemy's entrenchments. He deputed Shaikh Tatar and Shaikh Ahmad, his two nephews, with his own contingent, together with some of the Imperial Mansabdars and the son of Raja Bihroz with his own followers and a detachment of Mirza Khan's troops, on the left wing to make an assault through the hill passes. Shaikh Safi, with another detachment, was posted on the right wing, and he himself with Mirza Khan, Tahawwur Khan, Raja Bihroz, Abu Muslim, Saiyid Nijabat and a number of Mansabdars took post in the centre. In this way the enemy were attacked from three sides. The fight lasted for about 6 hours. Many gallant deeds were performed by Daud's troops. Ultimately they won the day, the enemy suffering heavy casualties in both killed and wounded. The greater number took to the hills and forests, the remainder fleeing for refuge to the fort. Daud Khan had originally intended first to occupy the enemy's entrenchments and then consolidate the position won, and afterwards seize the fort before the enemy had time to recover from the blow inflicted on them ; but the troops were in such high spirits, and so flushed with victory that they could not be restrained from pressing on to the fortifications of the town. Wading through the river they hurled a series of attacks upon the ramparts. The enemy were thrown into confusion and defeated, and with difficulty managed to escape to the lower fort and the hill entrenchments. The Raja emptied the fort of all stores and valuables, and hurriedly sent away all his women and children into the jungle ; while believing in the impregnability of the position, he himself stood his ground with a band of followers. He fought with dogged courage and resolution. The invaders,

however, broke through the outer fortifications and, entering the town, reached the gate of the fort and stormed it. The fight raged furiously till three hours of night had passed, when the besieged began to give way. About 1-30 A. M. the chieftain escaped through a gate leading into the jungle, and fled. Both the forts were thus captured by the invading army and the whole country brought under subjugation. In this fight 61 men of the invading force were killed, and 177 wounded. The casualties on the other side were very heavy. After a few days the scouts brought in news that the enemy had collected again and entered the Deokan fort, and were trying to fit out a new force to give battle again. Daud deputed Shaikh Safi with a detachment of troops to crush them. The latter pushed on with all speed towards Deokan and besieged the fort when the enemy abandoned it in a panic and fled precipitately.

Daud Khan stayed in Palamau for some time to make the necessary arrangements for the government of the country. Having got things into order, he handed over charge to a Mangli Khan, who was appointed by order of the Emperor to be Faujdar of the new territory. After this he returned to his own province of Bihar. ⁽¹⁾ Daud Khan was rewarded by the Emperor for his achievements with a special robe of honour, and on a later occasion, for the same services, was raised to the position of Commander of 4,000 horse.

On his way back to Patna, Daud Khan is said to have selected a site near the old village of Anchha on the bank of the Sone river in the Gaya district, to establish a post with a view to protecting the road from robbers who infested the jungle in that vicinity. ⁽²⁾ He had the jungle cut down, and submitted a plan

⁽¹⁾ According to the *Tarikh-i-Daudia*, a mosque still stands in the old fort of Palamau as a souvenir of Daud's conquest. The following couplet, which is found on one of the walls of this mosque, gives the date of its erection as 1072, A.H. (by the rules of *Abjad*):—

Kufr-i-derin bud Pālāmūn az nabard Hāliyā ! āūd Khān Islām Kard.

⁽²⁾ The insecurity of the jungle round about Anchha and Bhadohi was then proverbial. This fact is borne out by a local saying of the time, which is quoted in the *Tarikh-i-Daudia*, and which runs thus: *Anchhā lānghe aur Bhadohi tab jino ghar ae batohi*, i.e., only after he has passed Anchha and Bhadohi, you can be certain of the wayfarer reaching home.

to the Emperor for the construction of the town called after him Daudnagar. ⁽¹⁾ He also left a garrison of troops at the Kothi fort which in after years became a considerable village. The Pathans of the place still trace their descent from the Afghan soldiers of Daud Khan (Asar-i Sharaf, p. 90).

Unfortunately no record has been found of any change or improvement in the administration of the province introduced by Daud Khan. A tablet has been preserved on a building in the Khwaja Kalan Thana of the Patna City, which points to the erection of a judicial court building, called 'Dar-ul-Adl', by one of his officers, Jafar, in 1072 A.H. It is possible that he may have had other similar buildings erected under his orders at other important places in the province. He continued in his office at Patna till some months ⁽²⁾ in the year 1074 A. H., when he was succeeded by Lashkar Khan.

In Jamadi-us-Sani, 1074 A. H., ⁽³⁾ when he was serving as an auxiliary with Raja Jai Singh, he was appointed Subadar of Khundesh, and was ordered to proceed with an expedition under the Raja against Sivaji Bhonsla, and to leave one of his relatives with a contingent of troops at Burhanpur, the capital of Khundesh, for the management and administration of the province.

It will contribute to the better understanding of the narrative of Daud Khan's services in the expedition against Sivaji if we take a bird's-eye view of the Deccan as it was in those days. Of the Deccan generally it is sufficient to say that from the time when Shah Jahan subjugated the territory governed by Nizam-ul-Mulk, authority there had been relaxing to an extent which was rapidly bringing about disruption of the bonds that held society together. The struggles between the sons of Shah Jahan, and the accession to the throne of Bijapur of a minor named Sikandar Ali Adil Shah completed the confusion. Anarchy was almost universal. Might was right. The people had everywhere abundant reason to realise the truth

⁽¹⁾ Alamgirnama, pp. 866 and 877.

⁽²⁾ Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 49; Khafi Khan, p. 178 and Alamgirnama, p. 873.

⁽³⁾ Tarikh-i-Daudia.

of the Indian proverb "The buffalo is to the man who holds the bludgeon." Sivaji, an adventurer, had by his sheer daring and clever machinations climbed to the highest pinnacle of power in that part of the country. He had won over the corrupt servants of Bijapur, who connived at his misdeeds and depredations, and had gained the upper hand over all that part of the peninsula. He had acquired great influence, and had amassed vast wealth by plundering neighbouring jagirdars. Emboldened by his success, and trusting to the strong force he had raised, he began to openly defy not only the Bijapur Government, but the Imperial Government also. He made Rajgarh fort and Chakna his strongholds, and erected other forts elsewhere. By and by he possessed some 40 forts.

Afzal Khan, one of his generals, was deputed by Sikandar Ali Adil Shah to chastise Sivaji, but he was treacherously assassinated by the latter in a meeting very cunningly planned. Since then he had become supreme in the Deccan, and was causing the Imperial Government severe loss. Aurangzeb was at length compelled to despatch an expedition against him. The Emperor appointed Raja Jai Singh to command the expedition, and associated Daud Khan and others with him.

Daud, on his arrival at the scene of operations of the expeditionary force, was charged with the duty of arranging for the safe passage of the whole army across a plateau. In this he acquitted himself with great credit, and proved his foresight and power of organization. After this he pushed on with all speed and joined the main body of the army. He took an active part in the storming and capture of Purandhar and Rudarmal forts. After the taking of these forts he was sent with others to advance from two sides into the territory of Sivaji, and raid it. With Raja Jai Singh he penetrated to the region of Rohira and the submontane tracts near the fort of Rajgarh on the 21st Shawal, 1076 A. H. About 50 villages belonging to the enemy were burnt down, and 4 villages situated below the hill were raided. Three days later he reached the foot of the fort, but as the country was a mass of hills and ravines, he encamped for the

night on the high land of 'Khunjan-Keora', and left next day for Sivapur, whence he proceeded towards Kandana fort and raided its environs. On the 29th Shawal he effected a junction with the army under the command of Qutb-ud-din Khan. The combined force then marched on towards Lohgarh fort. A battle was fought outside the fort with the enemy, who sustained a severe defeat and fled, taking refuge within the fort. The villages of the vicinity were burnt and raided, a base being established here for the time being, whence raids into the surrounding country were carried on. Shortly afterwards the Rajgarh fort, which Raja Jai Singh had laid siege to in person, fell, and Sivaji surrendered on the terms dictated by the Raja. Throughout these operations Daud Khan is said to have shown great courage and power of organization. The first expedition against Sivaji thus ended successfully. Daud Khan, along with others, was rewarded by the Emperor for his services, and was raised ⁽¹⁾ to the rank of *Panj-hazari-char-hazar sawar*, 2,000 of the horse to be *do-aspa* and *seh-aspa*.

Though the object of the expedition had been achieved, still Daud Khan was left in the Deccan with Raja Jai Singh. He was, however, in 1077 A. H. summoned ⁽²⁾ to the Imperial Court for a short time in order to accompany His Imperial Majesty on an expedition he proposed to make to Persia. When the idea of this expedition was given up, Daud was sent back to the Deccan to co-operate with Raja Jai Singh in punishing Adil Khan of Bijapur, who had of late shown dilatoriness ⁽³⁾ in paying tribute.

The army commanded by Raja Jai Singh arrived within 14 miles of Paltun Fort in the Bijapur territory on the 7th Jamadi-us-Sani, 1076 A.H. The enemy thereupon evacuated the fort without offering any resistance. The expeditionary force now penetrated into the enemy's territory, and spread in different directions. Much fighting ensued, and fort after fort

⁽¹⁾ Alamgirnama, p. 917.

⁽²⁾ Alamgirnama, pp. 975, 986.

⁽³⁾ Alamgirnama, p. 988 and Massir-i-Alamgiri, p. 51.

fell before the invading army, which owing to the difficult nature of the country, had to employ every kind of tactics. Sivaji also fought on the Imperial side. Daud, with other senior and experienced generals bore the brunt of the operations, which varied from ambuscades, skirmishes, and sorties to sieges and pitched battles. As in the previous war in the Deccan, the army chiefly resorted to the guerilla system of warfare. Qutbul-Mulk (ruler of Golkunda)⁽¹⁾ shortly afterwards took the side of Adil Khan, and the Golkunda army thus joined hands with that of Bijapur. The Imperial forces had now a bigger task before them; and skirmishes, sieges and battles continued for months and months together. The whole territory of Bijapur was overrun, until at last a decisive battle was fought near the little fort of Pir in Pargana Dheoki, in which the enemy sustained a severe defeat. The operations remained in full swing till the end of the month of Zikad in 1077 A.H. When the Imperial army reached a village named Sihri in the jurisdiction of Prinda, it was reported to Raja Jai Singh by his spies that the enemy were much depressed with the failure of all their efforts, and that their generals had received orders from their respective Governments to avoid all further encounters and get back to their headquarters at once. The invading army again took to raiding the Bijapur territories, until the monsoon set in and compelled them to desist.

Of Daud Khan it may be said that throughout the operations he played his part with much dexterity and success. Whatever duty was assigned to him he performed it with great credit. In storming the enemy's strongholds, in ravaging their villages, guerilla warfares, in laying ambushes, in sieges and in pitched battles, in grasping his opponent's plan, making it his own and working it to his adversary's destruction, he proved himself second to none.

It should be stated here that during this expedition, in 1076 A.H., Daud Khan was relieved ⁽²⁾ of his Subadari of Khandesh, and was succeeded by the Khan-i-Zaman. In

(1) *Alamgirnama*, p. 1006.

(2) *Alamgirnama*, p. 972.

1077 A.H. he was appointed ⁽¹⁾ to the governorship of Berar, and was honoured by the bestowal of a robe of honour, a jewelled scimitar, and a horse with gold trappings, together with a lift in the case of 1,000 of his troopers to *do-aspa* and *seh-aspa*. He thus became *panj hazari char hazar sawar*, 3,000 of whom were to be *do-aspa* and *seh-aspa*. In 1080 A.H. ⁽²⁾ he was again the recipient, along with Dilawar Khan, of a robe of honour with a jewelled scimitar.

In 1082 A.H. ⁽³⁾ he was appointed Subadar of Allahabad, on his relinquishing charge at Burhanpur, where he was succeeded by Hoshyar Khan. But the year in which he had been appointed for the second time to Burhanpur is not found definitely stated in any of the histories. At the time of his appointment to Allahabad he was honoured with a special robe of honour, a horse with gold trappings and an elephant with brazen trappings.

None of the contemporary histories give the date of Daud Khan's death; but the *Tarikh-i-Daudia* quotes a *kita* written by Daud's great-grandson Hamid Khan (II), which indicates that Daud Khan died in 1084 A.H. Whether this be correct, it is impossible to say; but in the absence of more authentic information, and having regard to the fact that the *kita* is attributed to a descendant of Daud Khan, it may perhaps be accepted.

Daud Khan left only one surviving son, Hamid Khan, ⁽⁴⁾ who was sent by Aurangzeb on one occasion in 1090 A.H. to suppress the disturbance that arose on the death of Raja Jaswant Singh, and was, later on, in 1092 A.H., appointed Foujdar of Bhojpur. Daud Khan's other son, Jamshed Khan, ⁽⁵⁾ died in 1098 A.H. at Burhanpur.

⁽¹⁾ *Alamgirnama*, p. 1033.

⁽²⁾ *Maasir-i-Alamgir*, p. 102.

⁽³⁾ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 110.

⁽⁴⁾ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 177-178.

⁽⁵⁾ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 2172-18.

VI.—The Rock Paintings of Singanpur.

By C. W. Anderson.

In 1910, the writer, accompanied by the late Mr. C. J. Balding, explored a portion of the range of hills running north-west from Raigarh to the Mand River in search of a reputed cave of large dimensions. We were not successful in finding this, although there is reason to think that it exists in the hills further north. Meanwhile, our search was rewarded by the discovery of a series of small caves and a considerable number of primitive drawings on the face of the rock on a bold and picturesque scarp about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of the Mand River in approximately Lat. 22° and Long $83^{\circ} 18' 20''$. The site, which overlooks the small village of Singanpur immediately to the west, is reached by a very rough jungle track over the fallen boulders with which the hill face is strewn, and may be roughly estimated as 500 feet to 600 feet above the level of the plain.

The two largest caves are approximately 20 to 30 feet deep and 15 feet wide and about the same height at the entrance, narrowing at the inner end to round water-worn holes. At the side of the largest—about 6 feet up and 20 feet from the mouth—is a small gallery to which access was gained by a round hole 3 feet in diameter, after a legion of bats had been expelled. A superficial examination showed that the chamber was quite small but had shafts running to an unknown height towards the cliff top. Near the mouth of the main cave is another gallery which was entered by crawling through a small hole and at the end of which was a pool of water.

The floor of both these caves is very rough and is formed of loose broken stone mixed with fine stone dust and batsdung. Although on my visits from time to time I have excavated the

floor of the larger one to a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in places, I have been unable to discover anything definitely indicating its occupation by man, and owing to the great quantity of fallen debris nothing but a most systematic and perhaps protracted excavation would set the matter at rest.

Two hundred yards further west and at about the same level on the face of the cliff are two small caves within about 20 feet of each other, one in the main face and the other on a promontory at right angles to it. The most noticeable of these is the latter, which is roughly 10' \times 8' at the mouth and only a few feet deep with a fairly large platform in front of it. At the back are two round water-worn holes which just admit of a man crawling through into a small chamber beyond. From the appearance of the cliff at this point it seems likely that the cave could at one time have accommodated a family, but that the front had fallen away; indeed, as I have said, the whole hill-side is a mass of large fallen boulders.

In and around the mouth of this cave are a number of crude drawings in pigment (Plates 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 and Fig. 1, Plate 2).

There is one drawing so low as to suggest that the present is not the original level of the floor.

The drawings on Plate 3 were apparently intended as a group and are here represented in their relative positions.

All the drawings are in red colour with the exception of Fig. 1, Plate 2, which is black; and the pigment used was no doubt the red oxide of iron which is visible in veins throughout the rock.

In 1915, with the assistance of Mr. Percy Brown (who has since noticed the paintings in his book on Indian Art), the ground in front of this cave was excavated to a depth of about 18 inches and yielded some pieces of rock-crystal and coloured quartz; a small lump of red ochre, and an agate flake. Dr. Hayden, to whom the specimens were submitted, afterwards gave it as his opinion that the flake was undoubtedly chipped artificially. These articles were then placed in the custody of

the Calcutta Museum authorities, and, so far as I know, are still there. On later visits I have picked up one or two tiny agate flakes near other caves, but do not feel at all sure that they have been artificially chipped as they lack the sharp edges characteristic of such points.

The rock on which the drawings occur is a hard sandstone. When chipped it is very friable, and the rather large grains of very white quartz fall easily away. But the weathered face is compact and very hard, practically impervious to ordinary erosion, and to this fact may be attributed the preservation of the paintings.¹ These are in places so stained as to be barely visible, and yet in others quite brightly coloured. Curiously enough, the deposit is most marked in the larger caves; so much so, that if any paintings ever existed in them, they have long been obliterated. This seems to indicate that the coating, which is often quite vitreous in appearance, is due rather to percolation than to the ordinary influences of weather.

There is, in the platform mentioned above, a good deal of pebble conglomerate cemented together by a very hard silicious matrix.

The second small cave on the main face of the cliff is evidently a mere remnant of what it once was. Nothing remains but the smooth round back, about 5 feet in diameter, and a small ledge of rock forming the platform. The back of the cave is covered with drawings, most of them too stained to be easily deciphered. Fig. III, Plate 2, was obtained here, and the sam-bhur and lizard of Plate 8 are a little to the left. The lower figures of Plates 9 to 14 inclusive commence on the left and slightly above the last, and wind up the cliff face on suitable surfaces of the rock; the whole group being shown in the relative positions of the figures in Plate 14.

This group was obtained with difficulty, the foothold being very slight. More paintings are visible to a height of at least

¹ Note—Through the kindness of Babu S. C. Roy, the Anthropological Secretary of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, fragments of this rock have been examined by a geologist, Babu N. K. Chowdhury, whose note is printed as an appendix.

50 feet above the hunting scene but there is no possibility of getting near them without elaborate arrangements.

Plate 15, evidently another complete hunting scene, is 15 or 20 feet to the left of the last, and this I was able to draw from a 15-foot ladder. Near this scene is another small water-worn cave which I inspected from the ladder but could not get into without risk of being unable to get out again. It did not appear to contain any drawings.

There is no evidence that the rock has been chipped anywhere either to improve the shelters or to make a better surface for drawing on.

The study of prehistoric drawings is not, and never can be, an exact science, and if I approach the subject in something of the spirit of Kipling's lines—

*"There are nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays,
And every single one of them is right,"*

it is in a spirit of enquiry and not dogmatism. In the absence of stone implements or other corroboration any attempt at an explanation is apt to be steered between the Scylla of a too lively imagination and the Charybdis of an uninteresting and unprofitable caution,—unprofitable because even a palpable mistake may hold a germ of truth on which later investigators may seize.

To follow the track of analogies would seem to be the safest course to pursue, provided we do not attempt to deduce too much from them. For example, there is a strong resemblance between the method of treating Fig. II of Plate 15 and that of the hippopotamus of the Egyptian pottery (Fig. III, Plate 16)¹; yet it is almost certain that the crossed lines of both these figures are merely a primitive attempt at cross hatching to give solidity. See also the drawings of pheasants which I found in 1917, scratched in the earth by hill-men of Kumaon on a

¹ From "The Childhood of Art" by Spearing. The pottery is classified as Sequence 30 to 40. Sequence 30 is the indefinite date given to discoveries belonging to the earliest known periods, sequences 1 to 30 being reserved for anything more ancient which may yet be discovered.

mountain path (Figs. IV and V, Plate 16). The same reasoning may apply to the shield-like designs near the elephants, which, however, more probably represent a latticed trap, or corral, into which the elephants are being driven.

We cannot deduce a great deal from the shape of the human beings, for they vary considerably; some are advanced enough to show the legs in a comparatively natural position; others follow more closely the universal early symbol for a man—with their crossed legs and square shoulders (see Fig. VIII, Plate 16)¹—and others are again modifications of these two forms.

A lively imagination might see in the number of fingers allowed by the artist—never more than three or four—signs of the widespread custom in primitive races of cutting one or two off. But as a corrective we have only to remember that a child in his first efforts at portraiture draws perhaps three fingers and then refuses to labour the idea *ad nauseam*. It is sufficient for him that the hand is forked, and it is reasonable to suppose that prehistoric man thought likewise.

The absence of excessive development of seating accommodation (known as steatopygy) may be considered as some slight negative evidence that the race has no negroid descendants such as the Bushmen of South Africa. Many Aurignacian statuettes in Europe show this peculiarity of feature in a marked degree, though it is not so evident in the Spanish paintings of the same period. In any case the early painter, as in the present instance, was always much more at home in the rendering of animals of the chase than of the human form, and the point may have little significance.

The bands on some of the figures would seem to have a definite meaning. It has been said, on what authority I do not know, that they were badges of chieftainship. If so, in all probability they were trappings made from strips of skin,—trophies of the chase.

The weapons used seem to have been either clubs, axes, or bows. The attitudes of the figures on Plate 10 are very much

¹ From rock paintings in Arizona. "The Las of The Plainsmen". Grey.

those of bowmen, others on Plate 11 are using their weapons as clubs, and one on Plate 13 has a weapon shaped more like an axe.

The marks on the side of the wild boar may represent blood, or they may simply be the stripes which are very noticeable on the young wild pig of India. The similarity of these marks to those on the pig engraved on the Egyptian pottery (Figs. I and II, Plate 16)¹ is worth noting.

Crude as they are, the hunting scenes are full of life, and unless the artist was an arch-humourist, he was imbued with the spirit of the excitement and danger of the hunter's life. Several of the hunters seem to have already gone to happier hunting grounds; and one is being tossed and is in a fair way to follow them.

We may assume that the art of prehistoric man developed from his occupations and was concerned with (a) food-getting, which includes hunting and any implements necessary to get food or to kill those who disputed its possession with him; and (b) religion, including ritual in various forms, such as totemism and dancing. The second head (b) was undoubtedly much mixed up with (a) and the natural consequence of it, but in its turn would give birth to the development of symbolism as a medium for message writing and ownership marks; from which of course we eventually got alphabetical signs and then conventional decorative design.

All the Singanpur drawings come under one or other of these heads. At first sight Fig. I, Plate 1, might be dismissed as quite meaningless. It suggests little but that the artist had plenty of time at his disposal. But I propose to point to modern art as an example of how unsafe it may be to be too dogmatic on this point. The following sketch is a part of a more or less geometrical design taken from an exhibition of Modern Art which was held in 1914 ostensibly to educate the taste of the poor of London.

¹ "Ancient Hunters," Sollas, page 380.

In this case future ages were not left to speculate as to its meaning, for with commendable forethought and appropriateness the artist had labelled the picture "Sudden Attack", in a language which modern man can read. The cult (mercifully small at present) to which this artist belongs take themselves quite seriously, claiming that they paint a "mental sensation" and that their work cannot be judged by ordinary standards.

Now if bewilderment is the mildest sensation of the average man who examines the work of the "futurist" of to-day, is it reasonable to dismiss even the most unintelligible scrawl of primitive man as unworthy of attention? We may, if we cannot acquit him of mere idleness, at least get a glimpse of his mentality.

There is a similarity of *motif* running through Figs. I and II of Plate 1; Plates 4 and 5, and Fig. III of Plate 7. The probability is that they all had their origin in some form of totemism, although Plate 5 is not unlike some early drawings of the antlers of a stag.

Plate 4, though not quite symmetrical, is evidence of considerable mental advancement, as anyone may prove by trying to draw it without measurements.

Fig. II of Plate 6 is almost certainly totemistic,—compare forms of the raven totem found in the Eskimo engravings of Fig. VII, Plate 16.¹

Fig. III of Plate 1 may be the earliest conception of a tree, with its branches spreading most widely towards the bottom, and as such may be totemistic, but it should not be forgotten that in the generalization of symbols for a man forms not unlike this occurred. Fig. I, Plate 7, is, however, more likely to be one of these. (See Fig. X, Plate 16.)²

Fig. I, Plate 2, seems to represent a quadrant of the sun, but we cannot be sure even of this, for rather similar drawings have been made by the Veddas of Ceylon³ and the explanation

¹ "The Eskimo about Brink Strait." E. W. Nelson.

² "Ancient Hunters," Sollas, p. 539.

³ "The Veddas," C. and G. Seligmann: 1911.

of these was that they were deer hide vessels, with looped handles all round, in which honey was collected from wild bees nests. The Singanpur rocks are extensively patronized by wild bees. (See Fig. II, Plate 16.)

The break in the continuity of the quadrant is due to some long past and almost invisible slip in the rock.

Fig. I, Plate 3, may represent human figures but looks more like a group of pegged out skins with long tails.

Fig. II has its approximate counterpart in three of the Magdalenian characters of Fig. VI, Plate 16, supposed by Fiette to be primitive script and by Sollas to be ownership marks.¹

Fig. III puzzled me greatly, and with the object of getting to the fountain head, as it were, for an opinion which would certainly not be trammelled by centuries of preconceived notions, I asked one of the villagers of Singanpur what it was. After looking at it attentively for a few minutes he said it was a tiger carrying off a man. Anyone who has noticed the attitude of a cat carrying a heavy load, such as a rabbit, or one of its own kittens, must be struck by the insight displayed in this explanation.

At the acknowledged risk of coming to grief on the rock of Scylla we are now in a position to construe the whole group to mean that someone, probably the owner of the cave immediately underneath, was the heroic slayer of a tiger and two cubs, whose skins are drawn at the left of the group.

With the exception just noted the villagers of Singanpur have no wisdom to impart on the subject of these drawings; no traditions as to their origin, and no explanation to offer. They do not appear to have been aware of their existence until my first visit, and even now few have seen them.

In 1914 the drawings were sent, through a friend, to Professor Sollas, who is probably the greatest present authority on the subject. He expressed the opinion that the discovery was of value, but laid stress on the value of stone implements as supplementary evidence. Unfortunately, as I have said, not much of this nature has been found.

¹ "Ancient Hunters," p. 446, Sollas.

The writer hopes that this note may lead to some future systematic examination by experienced geologists, who may decide whether the conditions are sufficiently promising for excavation.

APPENDIX.

The specimens sent are felspathic sandstones, possibly of the Dharwar period. I only suggest this as nothing definite can be said regarding the age of the rock unless the adjoining rocks are examined.

The friability is due to the removal of feldspars owing to weathering, leaving an aggregate of interlocking quartz grains held together (loosely) by secondary growth of quartz. One side of the rock is more so than the other.

The red coatings are due to iron-oxide and absence of organic vegetable matter.

The black coating also contains iron-oxide but some organic vegetable matter is also present in the coating. Owing to the hardness of iron-oxide and the presence of organic gelatinous matter which has made the surface of the black coatings very greasy, the rock is and this accounts capable of resisting weathering to some extent for the preservation of the drawings.

Traces of lime are present in the specimen but no manganese.

The colour of the coating varies according to the proportion of vegetable matter in it,



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

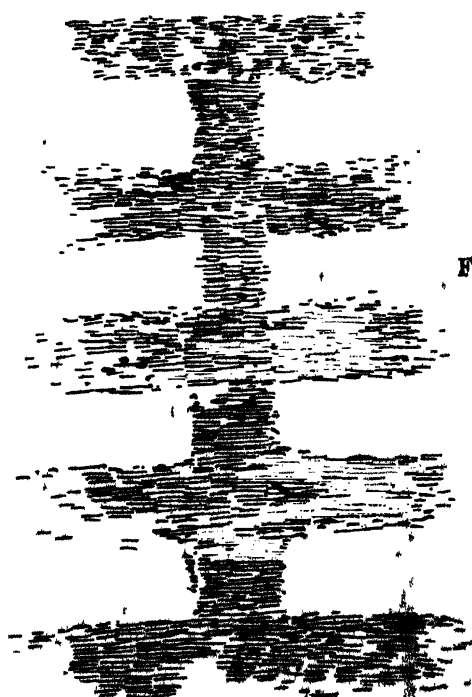
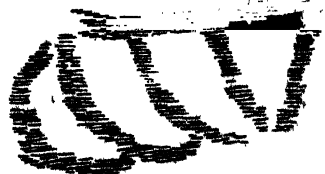


Fig. 3.

Fig. 1.

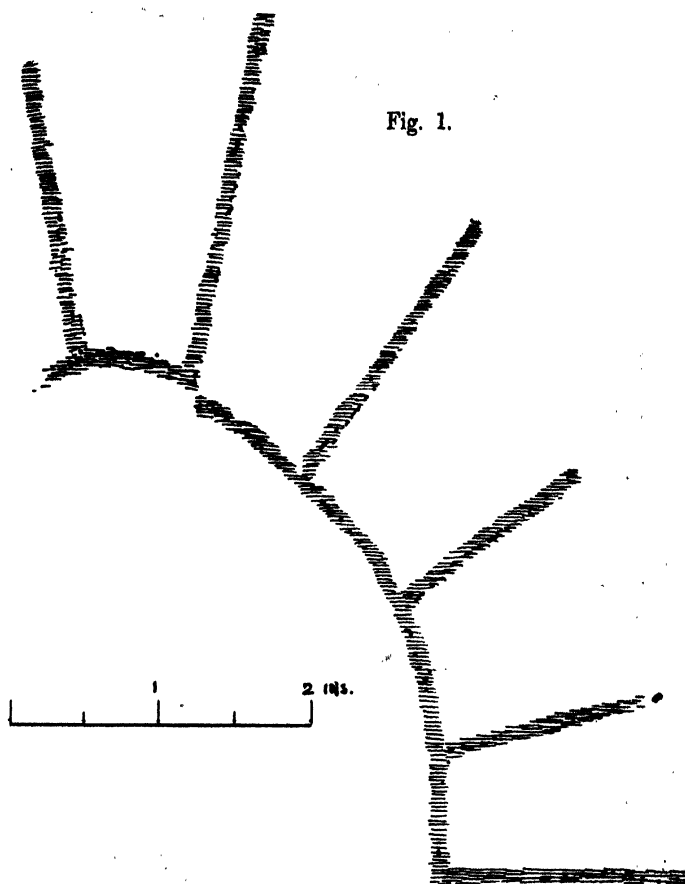
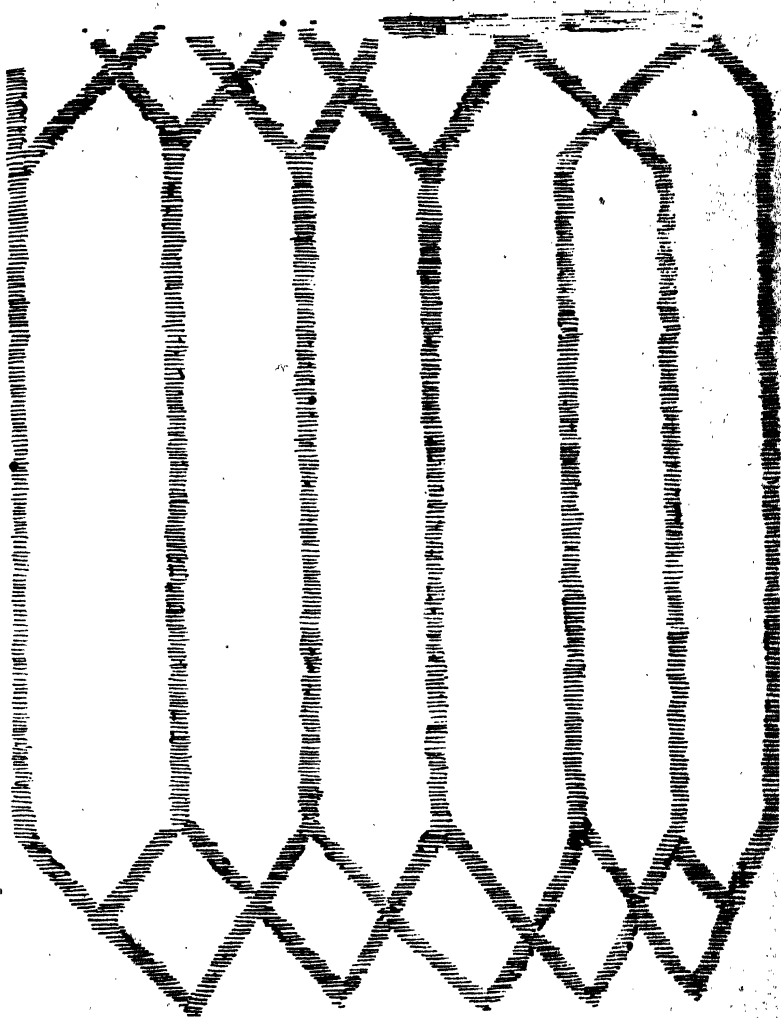


Fig. 3.





Fig.



2

3 198

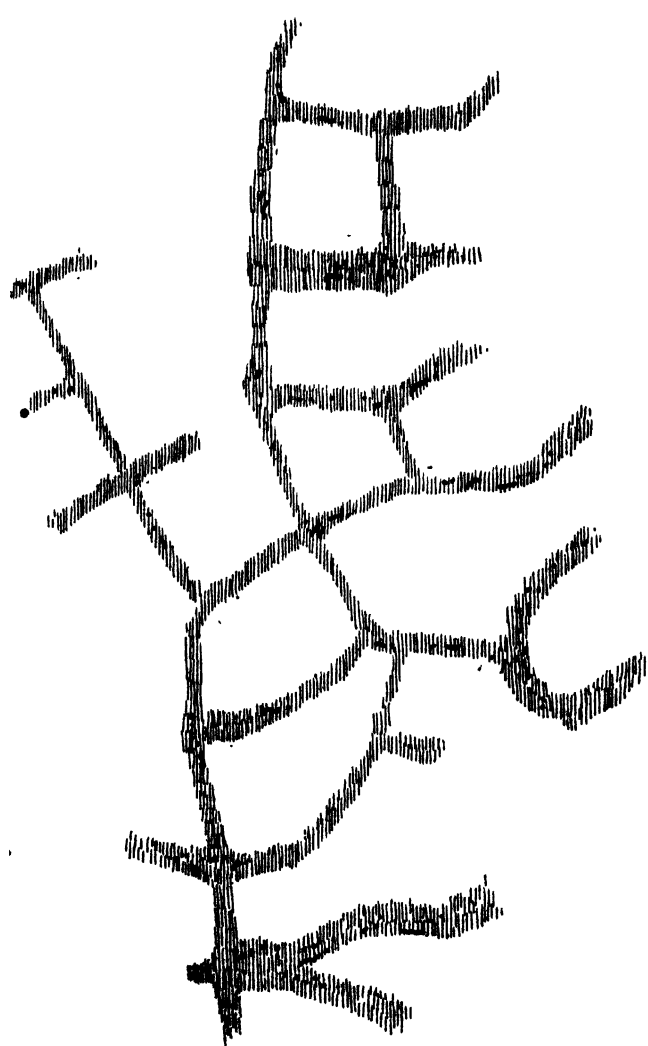


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

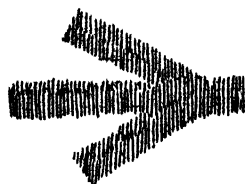


Fig 1.

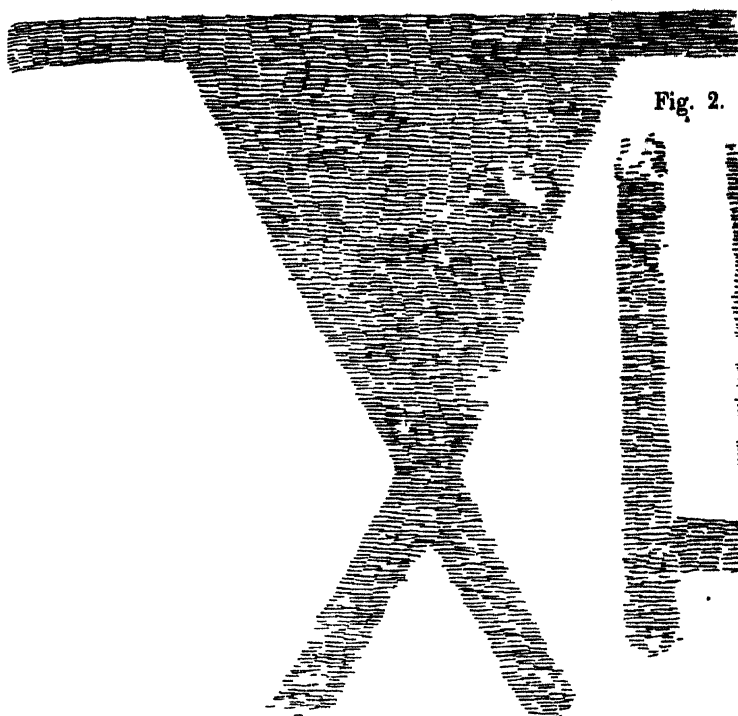
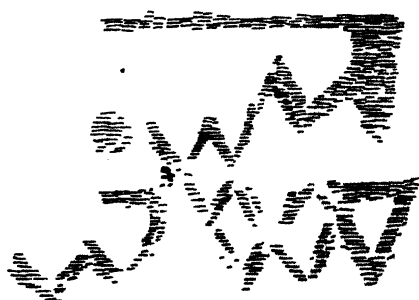
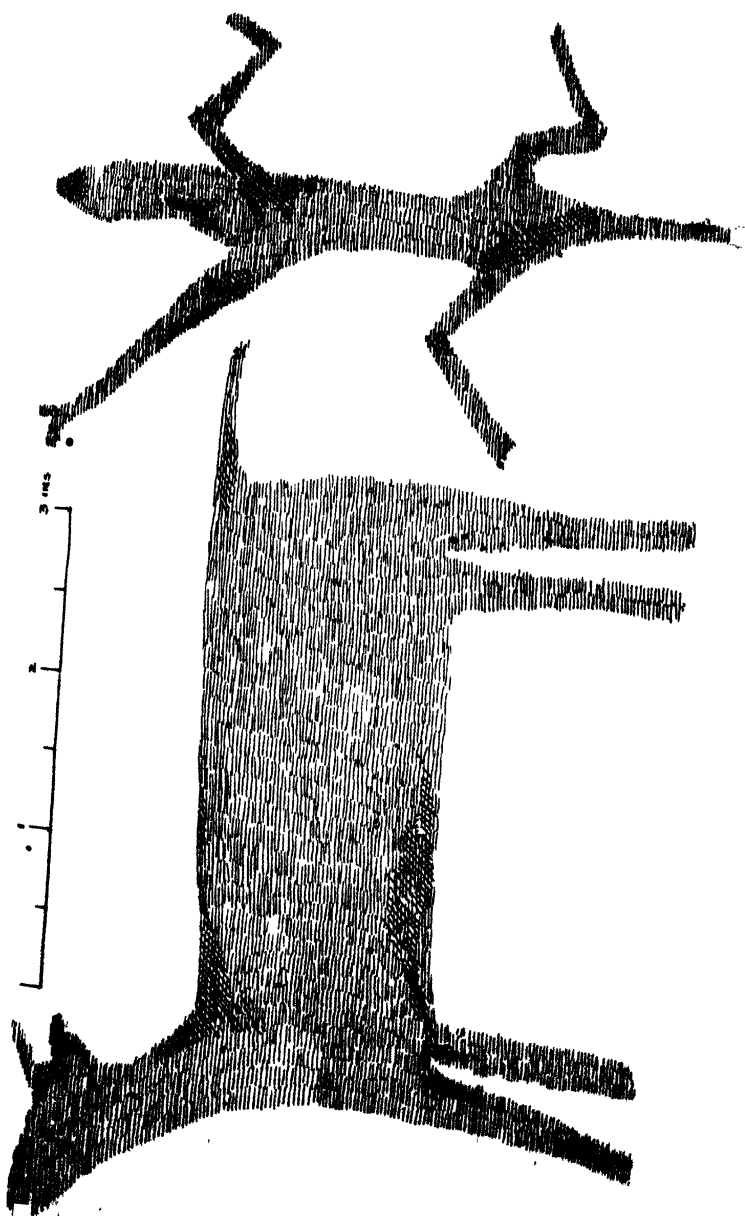


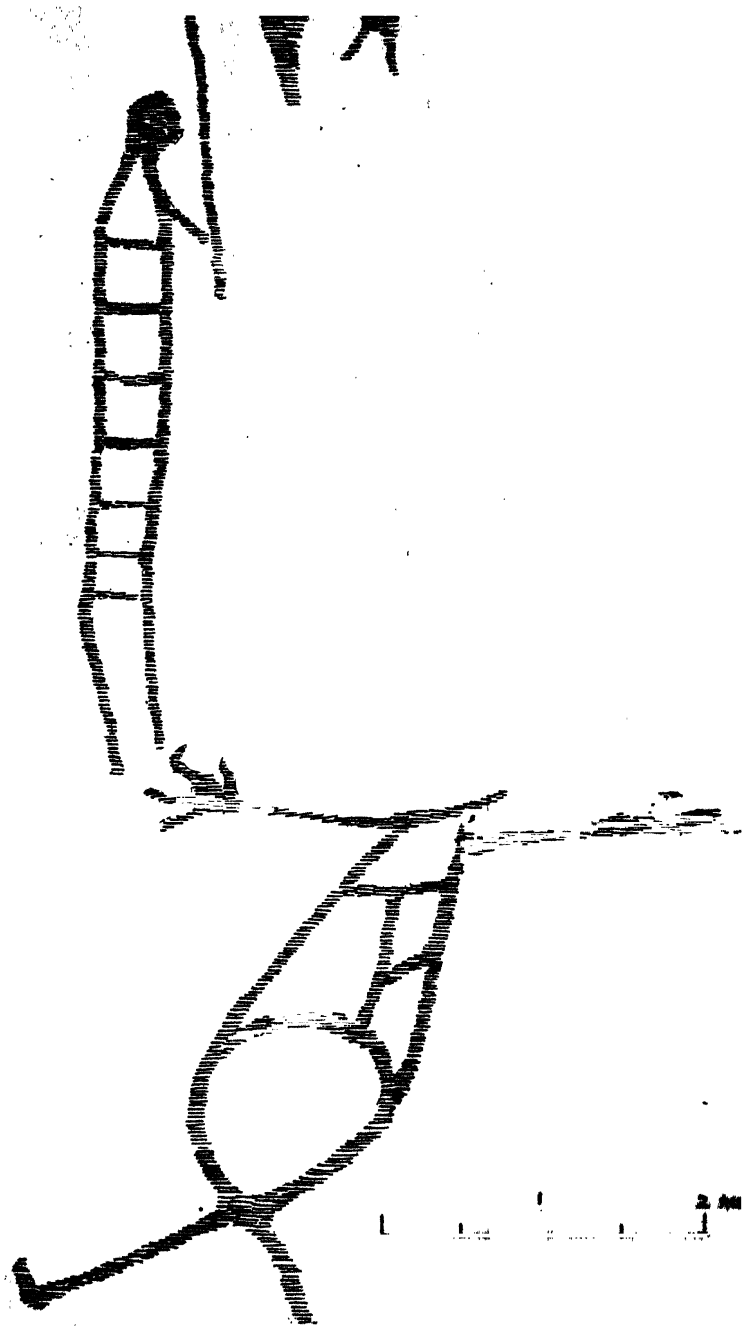
Fig. 2.

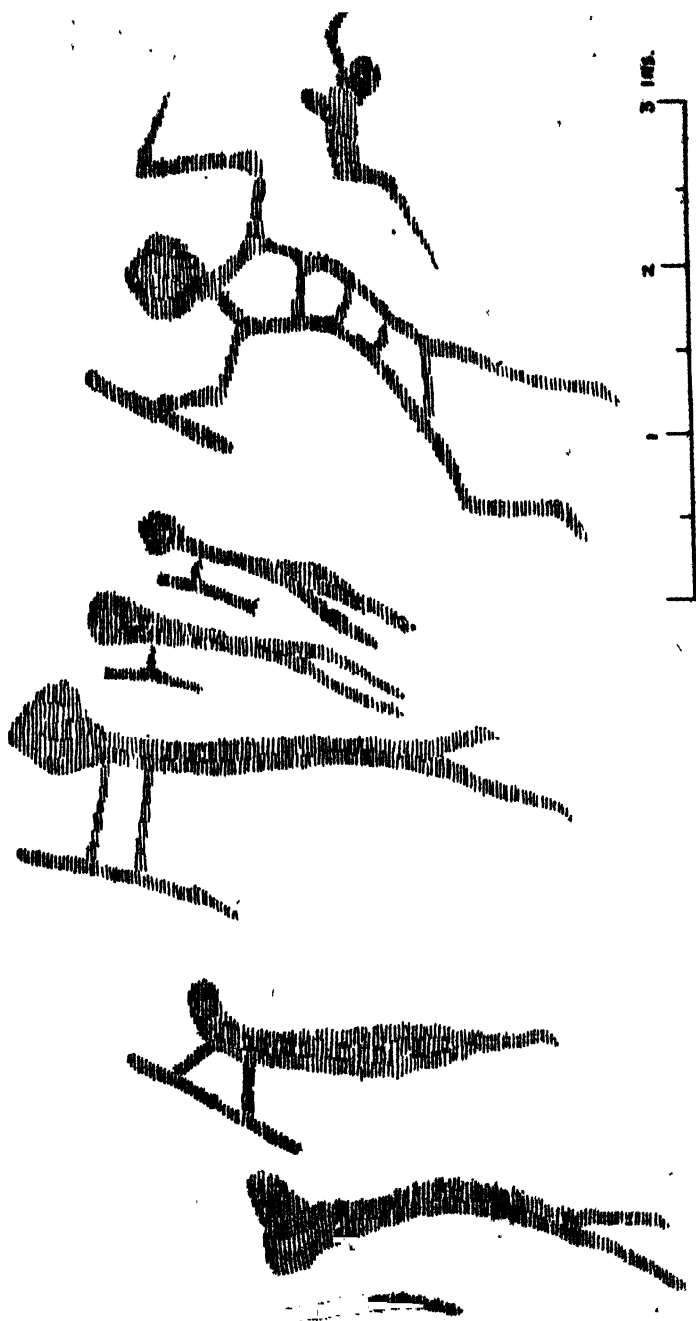


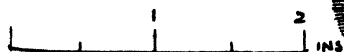
Fig 3.

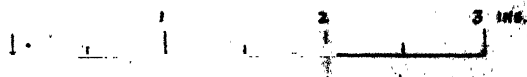


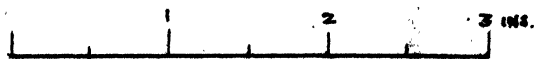
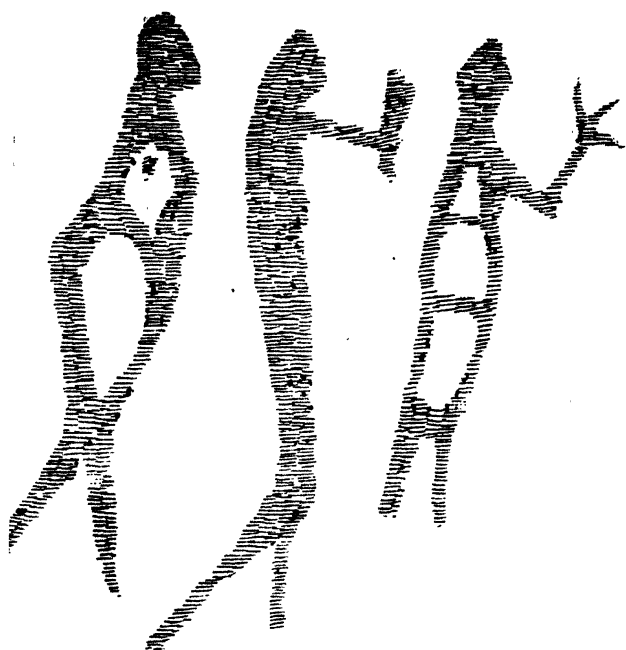


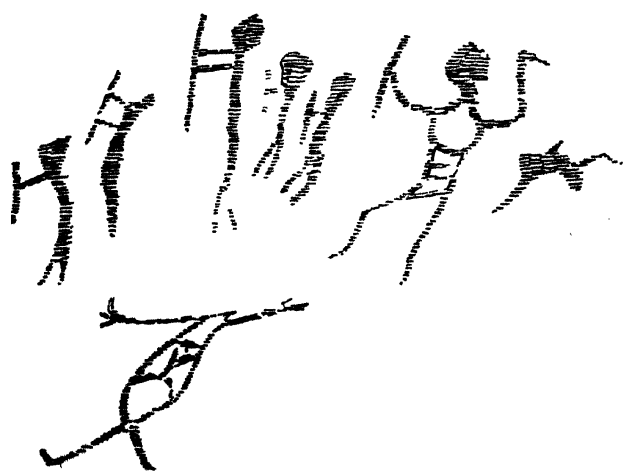
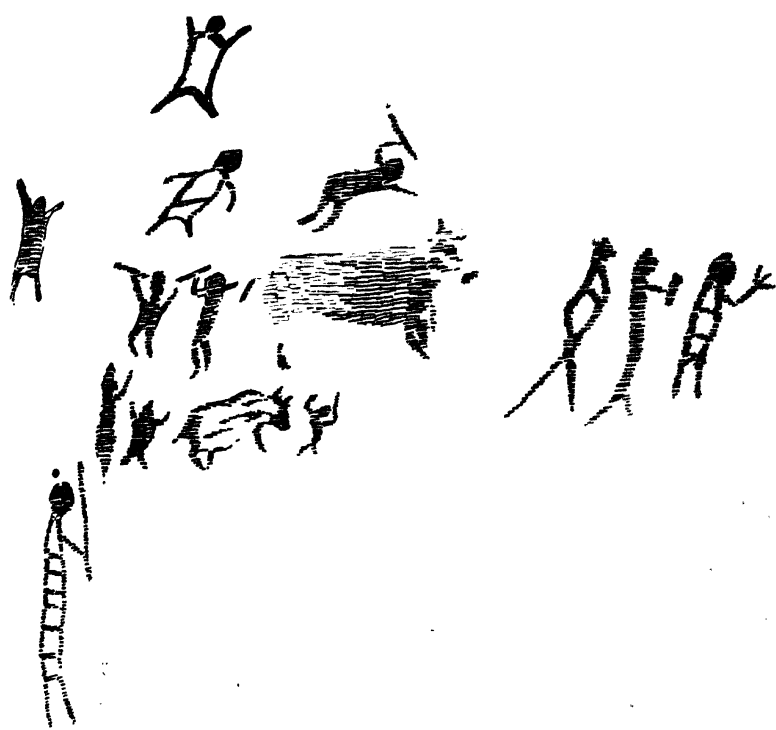


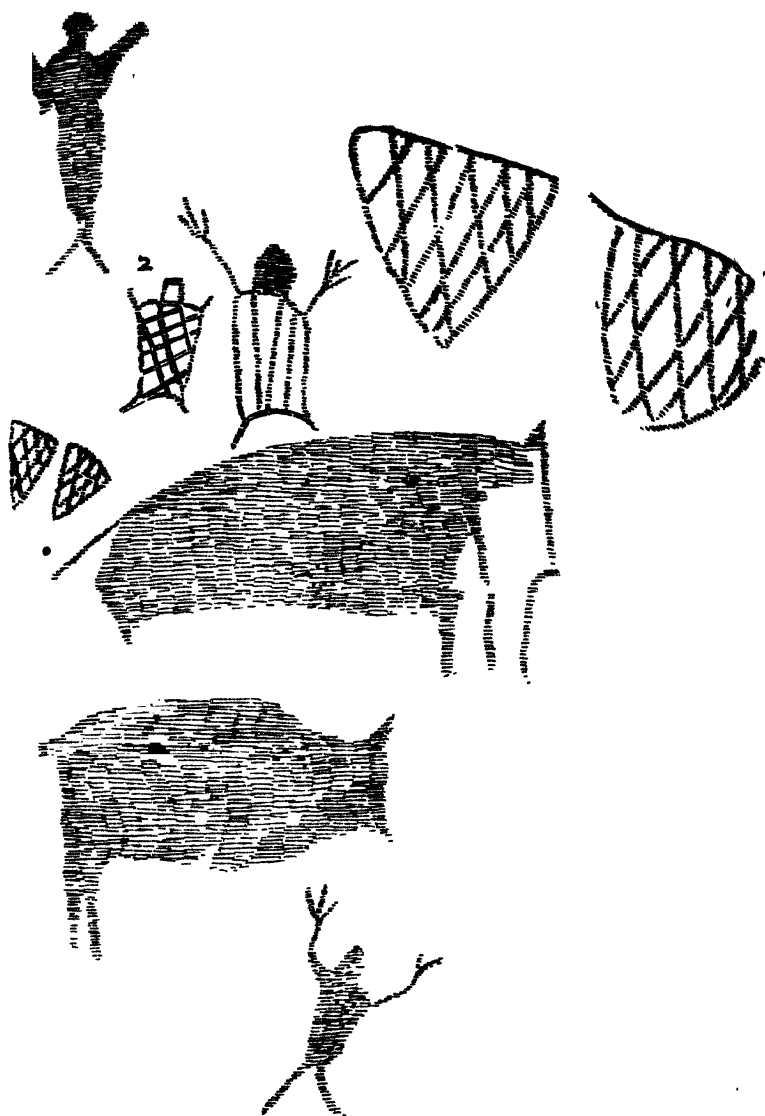


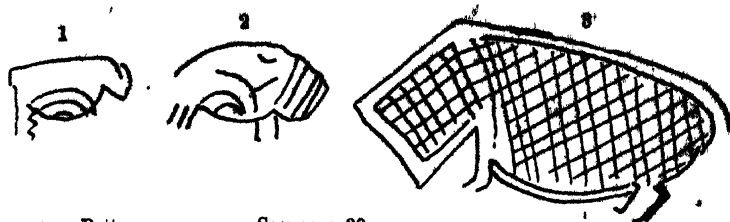










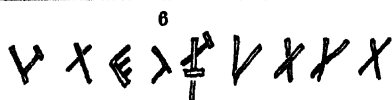


Egyptian Pottery.

Sequence 80.



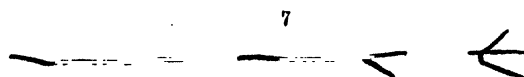
Kumaon. 1917.



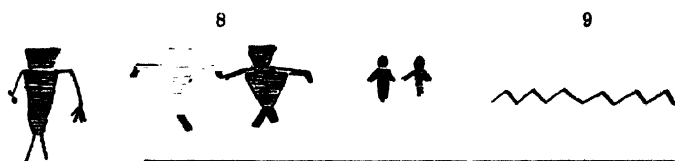
France.



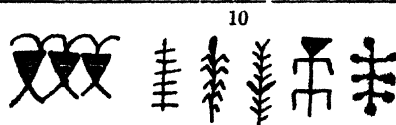
Ceylon.



Bering Strait.



Arizona.



Spain.

VII.—Death and Funeral Customs of the Birhors.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

(I) IDEAS OF DEATH AND SOUL.

The supernatural evil influences and evil beings against whom the Birhōr has to contend through life at length put an end to that life.

Origin of Death.

For Death, unless caused by violence, is believed by the Birhōr to be caused by some evil spirit either at its own instance or at the instigation of some person who knows the art of setting the spirits on. In olden days, it is said, Death meant only a temporary separation of the soul or rather souls from the body. It was only by a trick of a *linḍūm* (a species of centipede) that Death came to mean a permanent severance of the soul from the body. The traditional Birhōr story of the origin of Death is as follows :—A Birhōr, who was dead, revived, as usual, and, after having bathed in a stream, was returning home, when on his way he met a *linḍūm*. The crafty *linḍūm* barred his way and told him, "Count my 'legs' first, and then you will go home". The man agreed and began to count the number of the *linḍūm*'s 'legs', but before he finished counting, the *linḍūm* moved a few steps forward and the man had to count the legs over again. And again before he had finished counting, the *linḍūm* moved a few steps backwards, and the man had to begin counting once more. This trick the *linḍūm* went on repeating so that the man could never finish his task and walk back home. Since then the dead do not return to life. The *umbūl* or shade of the deceased is, however, ceremonially taken back to its old home where it is enshrined as an ancestor spirit, and receives for its nutriment daily offerings of food and drink and periodical sacrifices.

Besides this shade, which joins the invisible spirit world that **Doctrine of** interpenetrates this visible world of ours, a man soul.

has two souls—a male and a female. These remain united in death as in life, and, when they finally lose their present body by death, are reincarnated together in a new body.

When a person dreams, the male soul goes out of the body and visits different persons and places while the female soul, it is said, remains in charge of the body, “just as his wife is left in charge of the hut or encampment when a Birhōr goes out to hunt”. So long as the male soul does not come back, the body is said to be sleeping, but when it is unusually long in returning, the female soul too goes out in search of her mate leaving the body dead. Some *mātis* or spirit-doctors are credited with the power of calling back the truant souls and thus restoring life through the aid of their familiar spirits.

Sometimes the spirit or spirits who take away the souls do so with no evil motive, but only with a view to taking *begiri* or forced labour from them as landlords take *begāri* from their raiyats. And consequently when a Birhōr dies in the jungles during a storm the chances are that the death may be only temporary. High wind, lightning and rain are said to be the indications of the progress of a marriage procession of the spirits. And when the spirits going in such a procession see a human being out in the jungles they may make his souls join the procession and act as torch-bearers, or the like. In such a case, the spirits on their return journey send back the souls to the body and the man revives. That is why some Birhōrs postpone for three or four days after death the cremation or burial of a man dying during exposure in a storm. Recently a Birhōr gave me a vivid description of a marriage procession of the spirits which he fancied he saw while overtaken in a jungle during a storm. He described how the shadowy palanquin-bearers, torch-bearers, and musicians passed above his head in bright array till the illumination dazzled his eyes and the phantoms vanished. This Birhōr summed up his ideas about Death in the following words :—

“The man is the soul of his dwelling-place (*kumbā* or leaf-hut). The body of the man is the dwelling of his soul. When

the soul is in trouble, people say the body is sick. As a hut goes to ruins when the man deserts it, so the body is said to die when the souls leave it."

After the two souls—male and female—leave the body, they are born again in a new body. The **Re-birth.** souls of a deceased Birhōr need not always be re-born in his own tribe. Thus, on the very day, that the Nāyā of a certain Birhōr settlement died, a son was born to a man of the Kurmi caste in the neighboring village. And the son of the deceased Birhōr and all his *tāṇḍā* people seriously assured me that the Kurim's son is the reincarnation of their old Nāyā.

(II) IN SERIOUS ILLNESS.

Hastening the death of the aged and the sick as well as the abandonment or premature burial of the dying are unknown. When an *Uḥlū* Birhōr becomes very old or seriously ill, the family settles down for a time at some suitable place and is said to become *Jāghi* for the time being. A Birhōr, whether *Jāghi* or *Uḥlū* suffering from some serious illness is generally taken to the spirit-hut of his *tāṇḍā* if there is one and kept there until recovery or death. The idea seems to be that the influential spirits of the village may overpower or scare away the spirit that has caused the sickness.

A *māti* or spirit-doctor is called to find out the particular spirit which has caused the sickness, and the offerings required to rid the patient of its evil attentions. The *māti* squats on the floor and begins to mutter his invocations and shake his head violently till at length he proclaims the name of the spirit that has caused the sickness and the means to be employed to appease or expel it.

If it is some *ōṛā-bōṅgā*, or spirit of the house or family of the sick person, that is responsible for the sickness, the number and colour of the fowls required to propitiate it are declared by the *māti*,
Spirit of the house.

and offerings are accordingly made by some member of the family.

If the *māti* names some *bhūt* or spirit of some other family, the sacrifices required to appease it are brought to the *māti* who takes them up in his hands, waves them one by one over the head of the sick person, feeds the votive fowls with *śrūā* rice, and puts them by for the moment, and at dead of night, takes them stealthily near the hut of the family whose *bhūt* is responsible for the sickness, sacrifices them, and, leaving them there, comes away.

If it is an outside (*upariā*) spirit not belonging to the **Strange spirits.** *tāṇḍā*, the *māti* declares the direction from which it has come and the number (generally one) and colour of fowls required by it. The required fowl being brought to him he smears vermilion on its forehead, waves it three times round the body of the patient and feeds it on a little rice placed over the hands of the patient. As the fowl eats the grains of rice, the *māti* exhorts the spirit to leave the patient, saying, "So long thou hast troubled this person: To-day we are offering thee sacrifices; do thou leave him and give him no further trouble." This ceremony is called *neockhāṇā*. The *māti* then takes up the fowl, and with one or two companions goes with it in the direction from which the spirit is supposed to have come. As the *māti* leaves the hut, the patient throws out the rice left in his hands in the direction in which the *māti* goes. Arrived at the boundary line between the Birhōr *tāṇḍā* and the adjoining village, the *māti* sits down with his face to the east and makes three marks with vermilion on the ground where the fowl is placed. He next lets a little rice fall over the head of the fowl which eats it up. He then kills the fowl by twisting its head and severing it from the body. The severed head is placed over the vermilion marks, and blood from the body is dropped there by the *māti* who says, "We now offer this (blood) to thee. Do not come to so-and-so's

(naming the sick person) house again. Talak be on thy mother if thou should'st come again."

The *māti* then gets up and stands with his legs apart. Now bending low he throws the body of the fowl backwards through his legs in the direction from which the spirit is believed to have come. Then the *māti* makes water into a leaf-cup and pours the urine over the head of the fowl saying, "Here is liquor for thee. Do not come again to the sick person". The body of the fowl is taken away by the *māti* and his companion and is cooked and eaten by them.

Thus, whereas spirits of the *ṭāṇḍā* are propitiated by sacrifices, these outside spirits are conducted out of the settlement by promises of sacrifices and are then scared out of the *ṭāṇḍā* by threats and adjurations. In fact, these spirits are considered to be so amenable to fear that the *māti* sometimes sleeps in the patient's hut with a cane or a stick by his side; and when in a dream he fancies he has met the spirit, he at once jumps up, cane in hand, and chases the spirit out of the *ṭāṇḍā*.

(III) THE LAST CEREMONIES.

When a Birhōr is at his last gasp, his son or wife puts a little water into his mouth. Then all present stand apart or walk out of the hut leaving the door open, so that the departing souls may not meet with any obstruction in their way. Sometimes the necklaces, armlets, anklets and similar ornaments are taken off the limbs of a dying woman to facilitate the escape of the soul.

Sometimes, however, immediately after death a powerful *māti* mutters invocations to persuade his own familiar spirit (*sakti-bhūt*) to call back the departing soul and restore the dead to life. The *māti* lays down the dead or dying person in a shed erected near the *thān* or seat of his *sakti-bhūt*, burns incense, offers sacrifice and goes on muttering proper invocations.

As soon as the people stand aside to make away for the departure of the soul of the dying man, his relatives, particularly his wife and children, set up a howling which continues until the corpse is taken out of the hut. It is believed that if this is not done the departed soul will grumble that nobody was sorry for his death, whereas if there is much wailing, the soul on joining the denizens of the underworld will tell them with great satisfaction that it was with extreme difficulty that it escaped the importunities of its surviving relatives who wanted it to stay. The wailing is repeated on the occasion of the *Hoyon* ceremony, though less mildly and only by women.

The hut in which death takes place is deemed to be infected with death-pollution (*gehi-lotom*).
Death-pollution. When the corpse is taken out of the hut, all water, cooked food, ashes in the hearth, burning charcoal or other fuel, are thrown away. Even the spirit-hut is considered infected with death-pollution when death occurs in it. But whether a person dies in the spirit-hut or in his own hut, all the clay and wooden representations of spirits in and just outside the spirit-hut as also the spirit-box (*bongā-peſi*) in which ingredients for sacrifices are kept, are thrown away, and replaced by new ones, and sacrifices are offered to these newly-made figures in order to free the spirit-hut from pollution.

Wherever a Birhōr may happen to die, two earthen vessels, one in which rice used to be cooked and the other in which vegetables used to be cooked are taken out of the deceased's hut and laid, bottom upwards, in front of it until the *Hoyon* or shaving ceremony. This is intended to notify the occurrence of a death in the family. When the pall-bearers return home after burial or cremation, all old fires in the *tāṇḍā* are extinguished and the cinders and ashes in the hearths of all the houses in the *tāṇḍā* are thrown away, and every Birhōr in the settlement takes a bath. Then a new fire is kindled in some hut by the friction of two pieces of wood, and all the other families in the *tāṇḍā*

light their fires from it. If a death takes place at or before meal-time, no Birhōr in the settlement, except little children, may take any food until the cremation or burial has been finished, all old fires extinguished, cooked food thrown away, and until all people have had a purificatory bath, and new fires have been lighted. Until the *Hoyon* or shaving ceremony which takes place on the seventh day from death, no Birhōr of the settlement will shave. Amongst the *Üthlūs* no one in the *tāṇḍā* will hunt until the *Hoyon* is over. Although *Jāghi* Birhōrs may hunt during the period, they must not eat the flesh of any game but may only sell it. The members of the deceased's family, besides observing the general restriction against eating fish or flesh until the *Hoyon*, may not even bathe. Singing and dancing are not allowed in the *tāṇḍā* until the *Hoyon* ceremony is over. No evil consequences are, however, believed to result from the disregard of this prohibition.

(IV) THE FUNERAL.

So long as he lives, the Birhōr stands in continuous fear of the spirits; but as soon as he is dead and until the *Umbāl-ādār* ceremony is performed, it is he, or rather his disembodied spirit, that becomes the prime object of fear and concern to his relatives and other people of his settlement. And the observances and ceremonies customary during this period appear to have for their main object the prevention of harm to the *tāṇḍā* through his spirit, and harm to his spirit through stray, wicked spirits. Even the offering of food laid out for the spirit of the deceased appears to be prompted as much by a feeling of affection for him as from a fear of his spirit and a desire to keep it agreeably engaged at a safe distance.

Until the *āmbāl-ādār* ceremony which follows the *Hōyōn*, the spirit of the deceased hovers about in an unsettled state between the land of the living on the one side and the spirit world on the other, and is considered peculiarly dangerous to the

community as well as to itself. A woman dying within twenty-one days of childbirth or a child dying within twenty-one days of birth may never be admitted to the community of ancestor-spirits, as their spirits are always dangerous. In their case, therefore, a new doorway to the hut is opened to take their corpses to the grave. These corpses are buried in a place apart from that where other corpses are buried. Women and not men bury such corpses; the men only dig their graves and go away. Thorns are picked on their feet to prevent them from leaving their graves. The corpse in the grave is formally made over by the *māti* to the charge of some spirit of a hill or jungle of the neighbourhood. In doing so the *māti* works himself up to a state of supposed possession, and says—“O, spirit of such and such hill or forest (names)! We make over so-and-so (names, the deceased) to you. Guard her well and let her remain here.” The *māti* (or rather, as it is believed, the spirit through the mouth of the *māti*) says, “I do take charge”. If the first spirit asked to take charge does not make such a reply, another spirit is similarly addressed, and so on, until some spirit agrees to take charge of the dangerous corpse. Should a boy or a girl die before the ear-boring ceremony, the ears of the corpse are perforated before it is carried to the grave, so that the shade may get admittance into the community of Birhōr spirits.

The corpses of children and women dying in childbirth are buried. In other cases cremation is preferred, but burial is optional and is the normal mode of disposal during the rains and at all seasons if the family is poor.

On death, the corpse is washed and anointed with oil and pounded turmeric. If the deceased was married, vermilion marks are made on the forehead. The corpse is then stretched out and bound on an unprovided wooden bier and carried head first towards the grave or cremation-ground as the case may be. Except in the cases of a woman dying within twenty-one days of childbirth and a child dying within twenty-one days of birth,

who are carried out by women through a newly-opened doorway, all other Birhōr corpses are taken out of the hut by men through the ordinary doorway. An earthen jug filled with water, a cup of oil, and a torch are taken by a member of the funeral procession which comprises all adult members of the *jāṇḍā*. When the party reach the boundary-line (*kālki-wārā*) of their settlement, the bier with the corpse on it is put down on the ground for a few minutes, and then carried to the place of burial or cremation.

At the burial-ground, a grave about three feet deep, three feet wide, and six feet long is dug by men. The corpse is carried three times round the grave and then laid down flat in the grave with its head pointing south. The trunk of the corpse is covered over with a piece of cloth. The deceased's son or grandson holds a lighted torch in his right hand and someone stands besides him pressing his left eye with one hand. With his left eye thus closed, he walks round the grave three times and then lays the torch over the corpse's mouth. Those who can afford to do so put a few pice into the corpse's mouth. A miniature hunting-net, an axe, two *śānis* or small sticks used in supporting a net while stretched a little tobacco and lime in a leaf or in a lime-box, and, if possible, a brass plate are placed in the grave beside the head of a male corpse. Some Jāghi Birhōrs also put a piece of new cloth there. While these are placed in the grave, some elder of the *jāṇḍā* addresses the corpse, saying, "Go thou and hunt that way. Do not come this way again". In the case of a female corpse, a bundle of *chop* fibres is placed in the grave and the corpse is told: "Work those with these. Do not come back to us". A clod of earth is then thrown into the grave in the name of each absent relative; and finally all present throw earth into the grave and close it up. Small blocks of stone are placed over the grave to prevent jackals or other animals from exhuming the corpse.

When a corpse is to be cremated, a funeral pyre is arranged by the men. The corpse is carried three times round this pyre and then laid flat on it.

Cremation:

with its head pointing south. The son or grandson circumambulates the corpse three times, and then with his left eye closed, as described above, puts the lighted torch into the corpse's mouth and straightway leaves the ground without looking backwards, goes to some stream or spring, where he bathes and returns home. After fire is first set to the corpse in this way by the son or grandson, wood is placed on the corpse in the name of each absent relative and then by every one present. When the corpse is wholly burnt, the women of the *ṭāṇḍā* bring jars of water from some stream or spring close by and with a winnowing basket pour it on the embers. Then the women with their left hands pick up first a tooth, next a finger-bone, then a thigh-bone and finally the remaining bones. These they carefully wash in water and put into a new earthen jug. This jug with the bones in it is carried home and hung up on some tree near the deceased's hut to remain there until the *Hoyon* ceremony. Then all go and purify themselves by bathing in some stream or spring, and return towards their *ṭāṇḍā*.

After the Funeral.

When the funeral party return after the purificatory bath to the limits of their *ṭāṇḍā*, they have to undergo a further purification by fire and fumigation. Some burning charcoal has already been placed there by the women, and on the approach of the party a quantity of the aromatic resin of the *Sal* tree (*Shorea robusta*) is sprinkled on the fire to produce a strong-smelling smoke. Arriving there each one of the party touches the fire with his left great toe and waves his left hand over the fire. Then they proceed to the space (*āṅgan*) in front of the deceased's hut, and there water in which a bit of copper and some leaves of the sacred basil have been dipped is sprinkled on their persons. Then the men in a body enter the hut of the deceased. When the corpse was removed from the hut, the part of the floor where the deceased breathed his last had immediately been cleaned with mud or cowdung diluted in water, and ashes spread over it in the belief that the footprints of the spirit which caused

the death would be discernible in the ashes. The men scrutinize the supposed footprints in the ashes to discover whether the spirit was a family spirit or an interloper. If the footprints look like those of a person entering the hut, it is concluded that death was caused by a spirit of the house. If the footprints look like those of a person going out of the hut, it is concluded that it is some outside spirit—perhaps one of a different *ṭāṇḍā*—which is responsible for the death. The *māti* again works himself into a state of supposed spirit possession and declares what sacrifices are necessary to propitiate the spirit, if it is a spirit of the *ṭāṇḍā*. If it is an outside spirit, the *māti* performs the '*niñchā*' ceremony, so that the spirit may not come again to the house.

On the evening of the day after the death, a son or parent or widow or other member of the deceased's family goes with a leaf-plate of boiled rice and pot-herb or pulse, a leaf-cup of water, a little tobacco (if the deceased used to take it) and lime, and a glowing faggot to the outskirts (*kulhi-mūri*) of the settlement, where the corpse was put-down by the palbearers on their way to the burial or cremation ground. As the person puts these down on the ground, he or she addresses the shade of the deceased saying, "Here now, we have brought food for thee, we have brought tobacco and lime for thee. Take these and be quiet". If the deceased was a babe at the breast, mother's milk is taken to the spot instead of rice and other articles.

(v) THE HÖYÖN OR SHAVING CEREMONY.

On the seventh or ninth day after death the bones of the cremated corpse are buried in a small hole just outside the *ṭāṇḍā* under some tree, and covered up with a stone slab, saying "Ancestor-spirits, carry the bones to the original home [of the clan]." It is believed that the ancestor-spirits of the deceased carry the bones to the original home of the clan. Then all the Birhōrs of the settlement go outside the limits of the *ṭāṇḍā* and shave themselves. Women have their nails pared. Then they bathe themselves in some stream and return to the *ṭāṇḍā*. The widow of the deceased, when she goes to the stream for bathing,

throws away the iron bracelet hitherto worn by her as a sign of the married state. After bathing, she puts on a new sārī-cloth, called the widow's cloth (*rāṇḍī sārī*), presented to her by her father or brother who come to the *ṭaṇḍā* for the occasion.

(vi) UMBUL-ADER OR CALLING BACK THE SPIRIT.

In the evening a few men go to the spot on the outskirts of the *ṭaṇḍā* where the corpse rested on its way to the burial place or cremation ground. There they put up a miniature leaf-shed running north to south in length, and then go back to their *ṭaṇḍā*. The whole *ṭaṇḍā* now maintain absolute silence. Three or five other men go to the new shed carrying with them two sickles, a new basket and a chicken. A few other men wait in breathless silence at the deceased's house, where a lamp is kept burning. Arrived at the miniature leaf-shed the men who go there with the chicken sacrifice it, saying, "All ye stray spirits, spirits of persons who were long lost or died a bad death, leave ye the spirit of the newly-deceased. Here we offer this fowl to you; do ye give up his spirit." Saying this, the men strike one sickle against another and call out the name of their recently-deceased relative and exclaim,—“Come, so-and-so (names)! Look! thy house is burning.” With repeated exclamations like this the party return home, followed, as they believe, by the spirit of their dead relative. In the meanwhile the door of the deceased's old hut is closed against their approach. Arrived at the door, they call out—“Which of you are sleeping and which of you are awake?” Those within the hut ask.—“Are you our own people or strangers?” “We are your people, and not strangers”, is the reply. Thereupon they ask, “What then do you want?” The men reply, “We have taken out sorrow, and bring you happiness”. The door is then opened and they are admitted into the hut. On entering the hut, they ask with bated breath, “Has the shade come in?” The reply is always in the affirmative. A *māti*, however, must be called in. He takes up a handful of rice, sprinkles it round his head—swings his head from side to side with increasing rapidity until he gets into a state of spirit-possession in order to see if the spirit has really entered the hut. One of the men

present asks the name of the spirit which has entered his body and the *māti* in a nasal voice, supposed to be characteristic of spirits, gives out the name. If the name is not that of the deceased but of some other spirit, the ceremony of burning the miniature hut and calling back the spirit is repeated. And the *māti* again gets into a state of spirit-possession. When the soul of the deceased at length enters the *māti*'s body and reveals itself, people present joyfully exclaim: "Ah! he has come now! This is his own house; where else can he go to?" It is now no longer the *māti* who speaks, but the spirit of the deceased who uses the *māti*'s mouth in speaking. The spirit is now questioned—"Who took you away from this world? Was it an outside *bhut* or a *bhut* of the house?" On naming the *bhut* that is responsible for the death, the spirit asks leave to get out of the body of the *māti*. If some spirit of the family of the deceased, either an ancestor-spirit or the *Buru-Bongā*, or some spirit of the *ṭāṇḍā* has been named as responsible for the death, proper sacrifices are offered to appease it; if it is some outside spirit that has caused the death, the *ninchhā* ceremony is performed by the *māti*. In the case of a Birhōr killed by a tiger, his spirit is called back by the *ūmbāl-āder* ceremony and a seat is provided for the spirit of the deceased by planting an erect stone under some tree, and sacrifices are offered there.

After the *māti* has declared that the shade has entered the hut, the men who carried the corpse to its grave or cremation ground are each given a leaf-plate with some boiled rice on it. Each of them takes up the leaf-plate and places it on his shoulder and then puts it down again on the ground. This is repeated three times. Each time he does so the man is asked by others present,—“Whose shoulder-pole (*kāndh-kāti*)* is this you put down?” He replies: “Now at length I am laying off the shoulder-pole of so-and-so (names the deceased).” When this ceremony is finished, the three leaf-plates of rice

* Pole used in carrying a burden. This refers to the poles of the bier in which the corpse was carried to its grave or cremation ground.

are taken to the spot where the corpse rested on its way to the grave or cremation ground, and are left there. This ceremony, known as "Discharging the shoulder-pole," must be performed that night, whether the funeral feast is then given or delayed.

Generally the funeral feast to all the people of the settlement is also provided that night ; but sometimes owing to want of means it is delayed for a few months or even for a year. A family postponing the feast may perform the *hōyōn* ceremony on the fifth day from the death. Two interesting ceremonies prelude the feast. When their meals are served to the guests, but before they begin eating, a wailing is heard and the widow or a son or a brother of the deceased plaintively exclaims, " Other people live in [pools] full [of] water [*bharal pāni*] I am living in dried up [pool of] water [*sukhal pāni*]. " The guests in reply say by way of consolation : " Why, friend, we are still alive. Why should we allow you to be swept away ? " By this ritual wailing and consolation is the social tie that binds the surviving members of the deceased's family to the other families of the *ṭāṇḍā* renewed or cemented and strengthened.

The next interesting ceremony that precedes the feast serves to incorporate the spirit of the deceased in the community of his ancestor-spirits (*hāprom*). Before the guests have yet begun to eat the dinner placed before them, the Nāyā of the settlement and another elder of the tribe, who have both been seated side by side in a central position, take up in their hands a little rice from their plates and drop it on the ground by way of offering to the ancestor-spirits, saying : " Here we make rice-offering to ye all in the name of so-and-so (names the deceased). Do ye incorporate him in your herd (*gōṭṭ*). From to-day we shall offer rice and liquor to ye all " . Then each of them drops a little water on the ground and says, " To-day we have performed ' Haribōl ' of so-and-so (names). * Haribōl !

* *Haribōl*, means " utter the name of Hari or God ". This is the customary exclamation of Bengali-speaking Hindus when a death occurs in a family and a corpse is carried. The Birhōrs like the Muṇḍās appear to have borrowed this usage from the Hindus.

Hariböl ! Hariböl ! ” The two men now sprinkle water with mango leaves on all present and bid them eat ; and all fall to eating.

Thus is the normal state of things in the settlement restored, the spirit of the deceased is incorporated in the community of ancestor-spirits, the death-taboos on the survivors are removed ; and the people of the *šānqā* resume their usual avocations.

Ho Folk-lore* (III)

B. Sukumar Haldar, B.A.

20.—THE STORY OF A FOX AND A BEAR.

Once upon a time a fox left her little cubs in a hole at night and went on the prowl. While she was away a bear came and dug up the hole in search of white-ants, and in doing so fatally mauled the little foxes with his long sharp nails. When the fox returned home and saw her little ones lying dead she said to herself :—" You have taken advantage, Bruin, of my absence and slaughtered the dear innocents. You will have to rue for this." One day she was busily engaged, on the bank of a river, in stitching up a bag (*porom*) of Roong leaves and the bear passed that way. Said the bear :—" Well granny, what are you making this *porom* for ? " The fox replied :—" O my dear grand-child, haven't you heard that a great cataclysm is impending ? There will be a terrible storm, rain will descend in torrents, trees will be up-rooted and huge boulders of rock will slip off the hill-sides and will be carried headlong into the deep sea. I am making this *porom* as a life-saving apparatus. I will shut myself up in it snugly when the storm comes." On hearing this the bear said :—" O my dear grandam, do make one for me also that I may be saved from the great deluge." " Certainly, my dear grand-child," said the fox, " I will prepare one for you first of all. I am only a small creature and it will not take me long to make one for myself." Then the fox made a large-sized *porom* and when it was ready the bear got into it and the fox stitched up the opening and secured the *porom* with strong straps and fastening to it a piece of rock she threw it into

*Continued from Vol. II, Part III, p. 303 of this Journal.

the river. The bear thus met with a watery grave and the fox revenged herself for the destruction of her little ones.*

21.—A STORY OF THE *HERO* (SOWING) FESTIVAL.

In ancient times there was a family of four brothers. The brothers were all unmarried and they lived together in communality. At some distance from their house there lived a man who celebrated the *Hero* or sowing festival. During this festival it was customary for people to grind rice into a fine powder which they made into cakes, and some of which they made into a thin paste wherewith they bedaubed the walls of their houses with figures of men and horses. One day the eldest brother strolled down to the village and saw these mural decorations. He then carved a human figure out of a piece of wood and placed it secretly in the course of the night against a wall decorated with rice-paste drawings and returned home unobserved. He spoke to no one about it. Next day his younger brother went round the village and observed the wooden fetish, and at night-fall he crept secretly to the place and gave it a coating of mud-paste. The third brother in like manner saw the figure on the following day and he too approached it secretly at night and painted it in different colours and bedecked it with jewellery so that it looked like a beautiful woman. The youngest brother went to the place on the fourth day and saw the figure and was so pleased with it that he prayed to God to endow it with life. So earnestly did he pray that his prayer was heard and God breathed life into the figure which was forthwith transformed into a handsome damsel. He brought her home and kept her in his own separate room in the common domicile. The young woman was seen by his brothers next morning and the third brother asked him if he had not found her in the house with the mural decorations where there was an effigy of a woman and whether the woman was not indeed that very effigy brought into life. The answers being in the

* Cp. Story No. 14 in Vol. II, Part III, p. 269 of this Journal and also Stories Nos. 22 and 23 *post*.

affirmative the third brother said :—" Well in that case she is mine by right for it was I who painted and adorned the wooden figure that I found there." The second brother pressed his own claim on the ground that the credit of covering up a wooden figure with clay belonged to him ; while the eldest brother asserted his own right as the maker of the original carved figure. There thus arose a violent quarrel amongst the four brothers over this strange and fascinating woman. At last the matter was referred to a *pancho* (a meeting of the elders of the community), who pronounced in favour of the eldest brother, and the other brothers accepted the decision. From that day the Hos have observed the *Hero* festival which is in vogue even at the present day.

22.—A FOX'S RUSE.

Once upon a time a tiger while roving in the jungles was pinned down under a falling tree and was unable to extricate himself. While he was in this predicament a man happened to pass by and the tiger thus addressed him :—" Oh my friend, lend me a helping hand and get me out of this scrape. Never for a moment suppose that I will do you any harm." The man said :—" It is impossible to accept your assurance. You are the natural enemy of mankind. How can I trust you ?" The tiger swore on his word of honour to abstain from doing any harm to the man who, beguiled by the tiger's soft speeches, rescued him by forcing up the tree which held him fast as in a vice. The tiger stretched his limbs and thus addressed the man :—" Now will I make a meal of you." The man observed that it was passing strange that the tiger should so soon go back on his plighted word. Said the tiger :—" I am feeling the pangs of hunger. Necessity has no law and I cannot help devouring you." The man prayed that the matter might at least be referred in the first instance to a third party. This was conceded by the tiger and both of them proceeded together to find some one to whom the matter could be referred. They came across a bullock and the man told him the whole story and awaited his decision. " You men," said the bullock, " are a horribly bad lot. You torture

us by twisting our tail and prodding us mercilessly with the *pain* (a goad) in order to exact the utmost work from us while we are young and when we get old you turn us out of doors and refuse to give us any food. My decision is in favour of the tiger." The tiger said:—"The matter is now settled. Let me now eat you up." The man said:—"Don't be impatient. Let us refer the matter to a more reasonable arbitrator." To this the tiger agreed and they went on to another place where they met a fox. The fox affected to be in a great hurry. He said:—"I cannot attend to your business now. I have just come home hot and tired after an arduous journey undertaken at the instance of the King who had commissioned me to deliver an important message abroad. Let me go in and have a drink of water and then I will see what I can do for you." After making this speech the fox got into his hole. He came out again after a little time and heard the man's story and then said:—"The whole story is an obvious fabrication." The man asserted that his story was true to fact and he referred the fox to the tiger who only corroborated what he had stated. Said the fox:—"I am sure both of you are making a fool of me. It is an impossible story. You must show me the tree connected with this miraculous occurrence." Then they all went to the place where the tree was lying. On seeing the tree the fox indulged in an incredulous guffaw and observed:—"Let me see you reconstruct the strange situation if you can." Thereupon the man raised the tree by main force and the tiger allowed himself to be pressed down under its weight. Said the fox to the tiger:—"Now let me see you shake yourself free." The tiger tried but could not move. The fox then said to the man:—"Fetch a good big stick and belabour him with it." Then the man secured a cudgel and put the poor tiger to death.*

23.—A FOX'S ARTFUL DODGE.

In a certain forest there lived a serpent, of enormous size, which preyed upon human beings and animals of all kinds. It

*Cf. Story No. 14 in Vol. II, Part III, p. 289 of this Journal and also stories No. 20 *ante* and 23 *post*.

so happened that a great forest-fire arose and threatened to engulf the serpent's lair. The serpent was in a state of consternation and could find no means of extricating himself from the perilous situation. A beggar happened to pass by the place with a wicker wallet slung over his shoulder. The snake saw the man and appealed to him for succour. Said the mendicant :—" How can I befriend one who is man's avowed enemy? Were I to save you your first act will perhaps be to swallow your benefactor." On this the snake swore hard and took many solemn oaths and appealed so abjectly as to melt the beggar's heart. The man made a long arm and placed his bag in front of the snake's hole. The snake promptly jumped into the bag and was rescued from the fire. As soon as he found himself out of danger the snake proceeded to devour the beggar calling him a fool for having saved his enemy. As if to add insult to injury he said :--" Don't you know that it is only natural for me to prey on men? Herein no injustice is involved. It is but a fulfilment of Nature's law." The poor beggar began to lament piteously and he roundly charged the snake with ingratitude. At last it was agreed that the matter should be referred to arbitration. So they went on together in order to find some one who could settle the point one way or the other. They at last met an old ox and told him about the facts of the matter and asked him to pronounce his decision. The ox thus addressed the snake :--" Man is forsooth an ungrateful creature. Just see, I ploughed his lands for him and toiled and moiled for him while I was young, but now that I am stricken in years he refuses to give me food and has turned me out of doors. It is well that you should swallow up this beggar." The man would not accept the verdict and demanded an unbiassed tribunal. The snake agreed and the two went on their way until they met an ewe and acquainted her with the facts. The ewe said to the snake :--" It is well that you should eat up the man. Look at man's perfidy. I gave birth to many a lamb but the greedy fellow killed them all and ate them, and now that I have become old and weak he will not

give me any fodder and I have been turned adrift to eke out a miserable existence as best I can." The man said:—"No, I cannot accept her verdict. She is too full of prejudice against man to return a true award. Let us place the matter before an unbiassed arbitrator. So they continued their journey until they met a fox. The fox was duly acquainted with the facts and then he said in a grave and solemn tone:—

"It is impossible for one to arbitrate as I cannot accept the facts which you have placed before me. It is an impossible story that you have stated. How can I believe that so big a snake found room in so tiny a wallet? I would reserve my verdict until I have seen the miracle accomplished in my presence." Upon this the snake quite unsuspectingly re-entered the bag, and uttered a cry to assure the fox that he was really inside. The fox now gave a significant hint to the mendicant who, acting on the hint, promptly secured the flap of the wallet with a piece of string and killed the snake. Thus the fox by his adroitness managed to save the man's life.*

24.—THE STORY OF A DAKUA †

A Munḍā had occasion to pay a visit to the Piṛ Mānki, and he was attended, as usual by his Dakua. The Munḍā saluted the Mānki and when the Dakua, who was inexperienced in these matters, saw this he inferred that the Mānki was superior in rank to the Munḍā. To make sure, he asked the Munḍā if the Mānki was indeed his superior, and when he was re-assured on the point he expressed a desire to become the Mānki's Dakua. His wish was gratified. One day the Mānki went on a visit to the King and the Dakua as is usual on such occasions, accompa-

* Cf. Story No. 14 in Vol. II, Part III, p. 289 of this Journal and also stories Nos. 20 and 22 *ante*.

† Under the revenue system in force in the Kolhan there are 73 local divisions, each comprising a group of villages. Each of these divisions has a Mānki or divisional head-man who is responsible for the collection of revenue and exercises the powers of a Police Sub-Inspector. Each Manki has under him Munḍās or village headmen exercising revenue and Police powers in each village. Mānki's and Munḍās have under them Dakuas who act as revenue messengers and Police constables.

nied the Mānki. The Mānki made his obeisance to the King, and on seeing him do so the Dakua took it that the King must be superior in rank to the Mānki. He questioned the Mānki on the point and when he came to know for certain that the King's rank was superior to the Mānki's he wanted to become the King's Dakua. His request was granted. One day the King went into the jungles to hunt and on seeing a fox he nodded to that animal. Seeing that the Dakua fancied that the fox must be superior to the King and he asked the King if that was so. The King said :—"Yes, indeed, the fox is my superior." The Dakua told the king that he would in that case prefer the service of the fox. His request was again granted and he became the fox's Dakua. The fox soon began to regard the Dakua as an incubus as the latter constantly followed him about and hardly gave him a chance of enjoying a quiet meal. The fox hit upon a plan in order to get rid of the man. He gave his Dakua an ox and said :—"You have served me faithfully. This is your reward. Take it home with you. You need not dance attendance on me any longer." While on his way home, the man passed a night in a certain village and put up in the house of a Teli (an oil-manufacturer), and tied the ox to the wooden oil-mill. At day-break the Teli gave out that his mill had brought forth an ox over-night. The Dakua pleaded in vain that it was his own ox and that he had kept it tied to the mill-post. As his claim was stoutly contested by the Teli there was nothing for him but to lay the matter before the King. The King heard both the claimants and failing to decide the claim asked the Dakua to produce the fox to testify to his ownership of the disputed ox. The Dakua went and told the fox all about his trouble and asked him to appear before the King and give his testimony. Said the fox :—"Very well go ahead and tell the King to have all the dogs in his palace tied up securely. I will appear before his majesty in due course." On receiving this message the King ordered all the dogs to be secured with ropes, and then the fox came and lay down in front of the royal court and nodded off into a doze. The King spoke aloud and asked him as to what

the facts of the case were. The fox half opened his eyes just for one moment and went off to sleep again. The King was greatly offended and called upon the fox peremptorily to give his testimony on oath as to the point in issue. The fox stretched his limbs and yawned and then he said : —“ My lord, the sea caught fire last night and I had to pass a sleepless night in trying to put out the fire. Hence the drowsiness that is creeping on me in your royal presence.” Said the king : —“ What nonsense you are talking ; it is impossible for the sea to be on fire.” “ Indeed, Sire,” said the fox ; “ but equally impossible is it for a piece of dry wood to bring forth a live ox.” The man then got back his ox.

25.—THE STORY OF A BRIDE.

A young woman's marriage had been duly arranged and a day was appointed for the wedding. Her elder brother's wife told her to go into the jungle, and pluck leaves for the purpose of making plates and cups for the entertainment of the bridegroom's party, and the woman further suggested that she should deposit the leaves under different Roong creepers (the fibrous bark of which is used as ropes). The young woman did exactly as she was bidden, but her sister-in-law (*Mili*) nagged her about the small quantity of leaves she had collected and told her to go into the jungles again and fetch more leaves. The poor bride returned to the jungles to fetch more leaves although it was a late hour when it was unsafe for people to be alone in the wild country ; and in the gloaming she encountered a huge tiger. The tiger thus addressed her : —“ What are you searching for, my dear grand-child ?” Said the young bride : —“ Grand-papa, I have to go to my brothers in order to entertain them with my songs and earn my wages.” The tiger pointed to his den and said : —“ Well then, go over to my house and sit there until your brothers who have gone a hunting (*sangar**) return home.” She accordingly went and seated herself at the entrance to the great tiger's cave. When the tigers returned from their hunt the great one said to them : —“ Here is your sister. What have you done about giving her a warm welcome ?”

* *Mundari sendera.*

Thereupon some of them brought rice, some brought cooking-pots while others brought salt, turmeric and dishes and then they asked her to cook the meat and rice. After they had all dined the great tiger said to the maiden:—"Come now my grand-child and sing to your brothers." She then started singing this song:—

Bo'tedo iṭulad miṭulad

Kāṭā'tedo dārpil mārpiḷ."

[NOTE—This is a sort of gibberish which appears to constitute a barbed innuendo referring to the disproportion in size between the large head (*bo'*) and small legs (*kāṭa'*) of a tiger.]

The great tiger interrupted her and said:—"My dear granddaughter, you will offend your brothers by singing this song. Sing to them a better one." She then began to sing another song:—

"Rupā rupā noṛāgo noṛāgoḍ ko

Tiri-riu tiri-riu koādo

Iih sālong lih-sālong."

[Translation (free):—There goes a handsome swain, playing a tune on a flute as he gambles along.]

As soon as she commenced this song all the tigers joined hands (each placing one foot on the shoulder of the tiger next to it) and began to dance. The tigers were greatly delighted and gave her nice clothes, anklets (*āṇḍu*) and bracelets (*sākom*) to bedeck herself with. In this manner did she regale the tigers from day to day. After some time had elapsed the young woman thus addressed the great tiger:—"Dear grandfather, I am dying of ennui. Do let me go to my people for a change. I will come back again to you." Her prayer was readily granted. A basketful of rice, one jar full of Diang (rice-beer) and a castrated goat were given to her to serve as viaticum and the great tiger deputed two of the tigers to see her home and particularly warned them to behave properly on the way. After going some distance her attendants asked her how far away her home was; to which she replied:—"My home is in the kingdom of Tu-tu-goyākan." The two tigers repeated their inquiry several times but each time she gave them the same answer.

When they arrived near the cultivated fields on the outskirts of her village she said :—" Run away, my brothers. My parents and relations are coming. They may kill you." " Thereupon the two tigers ran off for their lives. When she came home her sister-in-law took her up sharply about her long delay in returning home from the jungles. She said in reply that she had been earning her wages honestly by singing songs to the tigers. Said her sister-in-law :—" Is it they who have given you all these valuable gifts—the cloth you are wearing and the anklets and bracelets?" On being reassured on that score the woman said :—" Do tell me what song you sang to the tigers so that I may learn it and earn my wages just as you have been doing." Then the young woman taught her to sing the song—" Bo'tedo itulad, etc." The wicked woman then went into the jungles and met the great tiger who asked her :—" What is it you are looking for, my grand-child?" She said :—" I have come to entertain my brothers with songs and thus to earn my wages." Then as in the case of the young bride, the tigers made her cook the dinner and then the great tiger called on her to sing her songs after the repast for the entertainment of her brothers. She then began to sing the song:—" Bo'tedo itulad, etc." The great tiger stopped her saying :—" No my grand-child you must not sing that song, for it will offend your brothers. Let us have a better song." As she knew no other song she repeated the same one with the result that the tigers were furious with rage. They tore off her scalp and covering her head up with a brass *kutra** (a large cup) they sent her back home. The young bride was first deceived by her sister-in-law and she thus had her revenge.

26.—THE STORY OF A POTTER'S CHILD.

The story goes that a potter's wife, who was an expectant mother, went into a forest for the purpose of bringing in leaves, and was delivered of a son before she could return home. She

* This is derived from the Hindi *katora*. The word *bela* is also commonly used for *ka'oras*.

abandoned the infant in the jungles and returned home. The child was found by a tigress who said to her mate :—"Look here, my dear ; I have found a human infant." The tiger came and saw the child and proposed to eat it up. "No," said the tigress, "we will not eat it. Let us take it home and rear it". So they took over the child to their lair, and the tiger nursed it and brought it up. As the child grew into a little boy he was duly weaned and his feline foster-mother roasted meat for him to eat, and when he was a bit older he asked the tiger to make for him a bow and some arrows to shoot with. His wish was duly gratified and he went about every day with his bow and wooden darts and killed birds and rabbits which he brought home to his foster-parents. Said the tigress one day to her mate : "You wanted to kill the little child when I found it. You now see how useful he is to us and how he provides us with game for our daily food." The tiger acknowledged the wisdom and admired the foresight of his consort. Now, when the boy came of age he went and said to the tiger :—"Father, I must have arrows shot with iron so that I may shoot big game." The tiger and his consort went out in search of a blacksmith and met one who was making charcoal in the jungle. The man ran off terror-stricken on seeing them, but they spoke to him gently and reassured him. They gave him an order for a good number of arrows with iron shafts and it was arranged that he would deliver the arrows by a certain date. If he failed to perform the contract it would be worse for him. The blacksmith realized the seriousness of the job and he went home and sought the help of his craftsmen and managed to execute the commission in good time. The young potter was now able to shoot all kinds of big game and when his bag consisted of such large animals as bison, wild buffaloes or *sambar* which he could not carry home he went and informed his foster-parents who duly brought the game home. The time came when the feline couple thought that their ward should get married ; and one day they set out in search of a bride. They came to a certain King's *Bandh* (an artificial lake) where the royal princesses were at

their bath. The tiger picked out the eldest young lady who was very pretty and said to his consort :—"That one is to be our daughter-in-law (*Kimin*). Take her off." Therefore the tigress seized the princess and carried her off, while the people who were about the place shouted themselves hoarse and bewailed the sad fate of the royal lady. The princess became the wife of the young potter. The royal lady was not quite happy in her strange surroundings ; she was dainty of appetite and she could not endure the monotonous courses of roast meat. One day she told her husband that her usual meal at home consisted of rice, pulse and vegetables. The young man communicated her wishes to his foster-parents who proceeded to attack people on their way to and from the weekly *hâts* (fairs) and robbed them of rice, *dal* (pulses) and vegetables. The princess cooked the rice, *dal* and vegetables and soon developed a better appetite than her husband's. Thus they lived happily together for some time. At last a sinister idea crossed the tiger's mind and he thus expressed himself to his consort :—"We have now got two human beings in our possession. It would be well to invite all our kinsfolk and enjoy a hearty dinner on human flesh." Without waiting for an answer the tiger bounded off to invite his kinsfolk. In the meantime the tigress went to the young couple and forewarned them about their impending doom. The princess bewailed her lot but her husband inspired her with hope and courage. Under her husband's advice she climbed high up a tree while he perched himself on a lower branch. Soon after one hundred ferocious tigers arrived and encircled the tree but the young potter, who was a crack shot, promptly disposed of them with his deadly shafts. Then there came a fresh band of one hundred tigers and they too met with the same fate. Having in this manner exterminated the entire brood of tigers the potter asked his wife to find her way to her village, for he had no knowledge of the world outside the forests. The princess indicated a tall *kadam* tree which stood in her father's court-yard as a landmark which would guide them to the King's palace. They arrived

at the Bandh when the princess found her younger sisters at their bath. One of the young ladies went and informed her father about the arrival of the long-lost princess with her husband. The young couple were provided with clothes and a barber was sent to help them in their toilet. The princess went home ahead with her sisters. While cropping the young potter's hair the barber cut his throat and threw him into the Bandh and put on the clothes which had been sent for him. The barber was thus mistaken for the potter and was taken into the palace as the royal son-in-law, and had a rattling good time. One day the royal prince expressed a desire to go a hunting and his sister (the potter's wife) told him to take with him her brother-in-law whose skill in archery was marvellous. The young prince accordingly took his brother-in-law with him and placing the latter at a favourable coign of vantage ordered all the beaters to drive all the game in that direction. As the wild animals came up the barber made no attempt to shoot them but he besmeared the arrow-heads with dung and said :—"Look here ; the arrow entered the animal's head between the eyes and came out at the other end as the dung on the arrow-head proves. These animals bear a charmed life. We must therefore be content with an empty bag." Thus did the barber deceive the king's son. The fact was that he could not bend the bow, let alone, shoot with accuracy. After some time the King ordered that all the fish in his Bandh should be caught up. The order was duly carried out. A poor shepherd went to the Bandh and found a large-sized fish which he brought home to his old mother. He asked his mother to cook the fish while he took the King's cattle back to the cattle-pen. When the old woman proceeded to cut up the fish she heard a voice which said :—"Use the knife gently so that you may not hurt me". She fancied that there was some one at the back of her house who had spoken to her, so she got up and went round to the back-yard but found no one there. She took up the fish again and was about to use the knife when she heard the same voice again, and she gave up the task in despair. When her son came home he asked her if the fish had been cooked and he was informed that it had not

even been cut up for the cooking-pot. He then took up the fish in order to slice it up and he too heard the same strange message. After holding a consultation with his mother the shepherd used his knife cautiously and as a result a male child was found in the belly of the fish. The strange child was carefully preserved and was brought up on goat's milk. The boy grew up and one day the shepherd approached the King and said :—"Sire, the herds have become too large for me and I must have some one to assist me in tending them. With your royal permission I will get my maternal uncle's son to help me in tending the palace cattle". So saying he went and fetched, not his maternal uncle's son, but the boy who had been so strangely recovered from the fish's belly. While looking after the cattle the shepherd's assistant killed many birds every day and brought them home. The King's men noticed this and said to the shepherd :—"How is it that you have become such a crack shot?" The shepherd replied :—"The credit is due to my young cousin and not to me. His aim is indeed unerring."

There stood, as has been already said, a tall *kadam* tree in the court-yard of the royal palace, and a single fruit hung from one of its topmost branches. The King issued a proclamation to say that anyone who could knock off the fruit with an iron-shafted arrow at the first shot would become his son-in-law and receive half the kingdom as dower. Princes and men of high degree flocked in from far and near and made the attempt, but all failed signally. At last the shepherd's assistant stepped forward to make the attempt and he dropped the fruit with his first shot. The King proceeded to fulfil his promise. The princess who had been fraudulently taken possession of by the crafty barber beheld the young archer and said :—"This indeed is my real husband ; and not this fellow who is a barber and who cannot even bend my husband's bow." The fraud having been detected the King ordered the barber to measure the depth of the well which stood in the royal court-yard, and as the man was stooping forward, craning his neck into the well he was pushed into it and killed. The young man who was the potter's son, was

united once more to the royal princess and obtained half the kingdom as a wedding gift.

27.—A STORY OF CANNIBALISM.

In ancient times there was a married couple who had a family of seven sons and one daughter. The young men lived as hunters and were experts in the use of the bow and arrow. Their sister had been given in marriage to a farmer in a distant village where she lived with her husband. After a long time she expressed a desire to see her parents and obtained her husband's permission for the purpose. When she came to her father's house she was asked to prepare food for the family and she did this very willingly. It happened one day that while she was cutting up greens (*māni ā*,) she accidentally cut her finger so that the blood from the wound got mixed up with the vegetables which she cooked. Her brothers came back from the hunting field with a good bag of game which she cooked also. When the brothers fell to they found that the *māni ā* surpassed in flavour all the dishes which had been served and they were all very eager to know what made the common vegetables taste so very sweet. They pressed their sister hard and at last she told them the whole truth. The young men began to ponder how unspeakably sweet their sister's flesh must be if a small particle of her blood had sufficed to impart so rich a flavour to the pot-herbs she had cooked for them. They made up their mind to kill her and eat her up. One day they proposed to their parents that they would escort her to her husband's home, and the necessary permission having been obtained they took her into a great forest. When it was night they placed their sister on a tree and they slept under it. The brothers got ready in the morning to shoot her. She knew what was passing in their mind and she sang, a song which ran thus :—

" Listen, O Karāt fruit to a tale of woe,
There are seven brothers
Who want to kill the'r only sister
May all their arrows miss her."

The first six arrows aimed in succession by her six brothers went astray and she repeated the song each time. It was now the youngest brother's turn to shoot. He alone amongst the brothers was unwilling to take his sister's life, but he was bullied into conformity by his elder brothers who threatened to kill him. So with tears in his eyes he took up his bow and arrow and just then his sister sang :—

“ Were he to miss me
He would lose his life.
O Karāt fruit to you I pray
That his aim may unerring prove.”

The young man took no aim and wanted to miss but the arrow found its mark and his sister dropped dead.

The six brothers took out their knives and other cutting instruments and dressed the meat and all of them with the exception of the youngest brother, who was weeping in silence got ready to eat the cooked meat. On being asked to eat the youngest brother replied that he wanted to have his bath before eating and he went down to a river and there he caught fish and crabs and roasted them and brought them with him. When he came back he was called upon by his brothers to eat in their company. But he earnestly requested his brothers to allow him to eat at a little distance as was his wont. They allowed him to do so and he took the cooked meat to a place near an ant-hill where he put it in a hole and proceeded to eat the crabs while his brothers were gnawing at the bones and to eat the fishes when they were munching the meat so as not to arouse suspicion. After this they all came back to their house and told their parents that they had seen their sister home. The deceased's husband now saw that it was a long time she had left his home and he set out to bring her back. On the way he saw a *Karāt tree* standing on top of a little ant-hill. Needless to say that the tree had sprung from the meat which the woman's youngest brother had dumped into a hole at that very spot. There was a fruit on the tree. The man felt tempted to pluck the fruit. He saw that it was so

near that he could easily pluck it. But as he drew nearer and nearer it rose higher and higher and eluded his grasp. He tried his utmost to get it but he did not succeed. At last he heard a voice which told him that he would only succeed in getting the fruit if the tree were cut down by his youngest brother-in-law whose name was Kundra. Then he went on to his father-in-law's house. His brother-in-law gave him water to wash his feet with but he did not take it. They offered him a seat but this he refused. They offered him food and drink but these also he rejected. At last on being pressed for an explanation he said that he would not accept anything unless and until he had secured the *Karāt fruit* which could only be obtained if the tree were cut down by Kundra. Kundra was accordingly asked to comply with his request. He began to cut the tree and just then the strains of a song were heard :—

“ With a tender hand, cut thou the tree, my brother dear ;
Gently let it fall that no harm to me may come.”

Kundra used his axe gently and when the tree had been felled he found his sister hidden away snugly in its hollow trunk. She went first to her father's house and after disclosing the whole secret she returned with her husband to her own house.

28.—A FLOWER NYMPH.

In olden days there were two brothers who had a house to live in but were without any lands to cultivate. They lived on roots and fruits for which they went every day into the jungles. One day the elder brother went in search of water and he found a tank on the bank of which there was a *Gurndāi* tree with a single very lovely flower. He was so pleased with it that he plucked it and brought it home and kept it safely. Next day both the brothers went away as usual in search of edible roots and fruits. When they came back they saw to their surprise that their rice, pulse and curry were lying ready cooked by some mysterious agency. They ate the food and went to bed. Next day they went again into the jungles for roots and fruits and when they came back they found their dinner ready as before. Their curiosity was piqued and they resolved to find

out the mysterious cook. The elder brother hid himself in the house while the other man went out alone in search of roots and fruits. The elder brother kept close watch all day long but he left the house only for a short time when he heard the cry of a hawker of salt and tobacco. When he came back he found the dinner quite ready and the mystery remained unsolved. Next day the younger brother remained in the house to watch and the elder one went into the jungles. He hid himself in a heap of firewood and saw a nymph of surpassing beauty come forth from the *Gurndāi* flower. When she came near the heap of firewood in order to take some faggots the man seized her by the hand and made her promise to marry his elder brother. Thenceforth she remained as the elder brother's wife and she did all the cooking and household work. After some time she was *cucinate* and in due course she gave birth to a son who was exceedingly well-favoured. One day when she went to fetch water the father was dancing the baby on his knees to the accompaniment of a song which ran :—

" From the lovely *Gurndāi* flower art thou sprang
My darling child.
Thy body is redolent still
Of the sweet flower's bloom.

His wife heard the song and said :— " Till now have I lived as an outcaste, apart from my kind ; but to day my people claim me back and I can no longer live with you." So saying she immediately entered the *Gurndāi* flower and vanished. The tree from which the flower had been plucked now began to bear many flowers. The husband with his brother and son went to the tree and called out loudly to the nymph but in vain.

29.—THE STORY OF TWO JACKALS, A TIGER AND A MONKEY.

Once upon a time there lived in a certain jungle a happy couple of jackals. They had no lair ; the female who was an expectant mother asked her husband, when her accouchement drew near, to prepare one for the safety of her young ones. " I shall attend to it to-morrow, my dear ", said the husband, " but in the meantime you must give me plenty of food and drink so

that I may pick up strength for the task." His wife gave him all that he wanted; but he pottered about the whole day and came home in the evening and said:—"Look here, my dear, I have gone far and near in search of a suitable site and have at last succeeded in finding one. I will start the work to-morrow." His wife was very glad and she gave him plenty of food and drink and he left home next morning to start the work. He passed that day also in mere frivolity and returned in the evening and informed his wife that he had excavated the foundations but that the earth had yet to be removed. By such ingenious reports he beguiled his wife and obtained from her large quantities of food and drink from day to day. At last his wife delivered a litter of young jackals and she requested her husband to take them over to the lair. The jackal took her along with the young ones to a cave and told her that that was the lair which had taken him so long a time to construct. His wife saw it and said "Well, you have built a commodious mansion for us; but what if a tiger were to come in and oust us?" "Don't trouble yourself," said her husband, "I have got wit enough stored in seven barrels to render us immune against danger of any kind." He added:—"How much of wit do you possess my dear?" She said that nature had endowed her with only a small quantity. "Oh! no matter; I have quite enough; let us live here," he said. So they took up their abode in that cave. They had not been there long when a big tiger was seen coming towards the cave. The male took fright at the sight of the tiger and ran to his wife and informed her that a tiger was coming. She asked him to bring one of his seven barrels of wisdom into requisition. He replied that he had lost all the seven barrels through fear at the sight of the huge feline. Said his wife:—"Do what you can, so that we might be saved." Said the husband: "I am going out. Beat the children soundly so that they may raise a loud out-cry." After he departed his wife sat down at the door and said: "You greedy urchins, I have just fed you on the liver of seven tigers and still your hunger has not been appeased. Keep quiet and have patience. Another

one is coming. I shall kill it for you and let you dine on it. Don't cry out so loudly for it will be scared away by the noise." The tiger heard these words and was overcome with fear. He dropped his tail on the ground and slunk away in a state of alarm. A monkey saw him in this abject mood and stopped him. "It is marvellous indeed (said the monkey) that so noble a beast should turn away so ignominiously from a mere jackal." Said the tiger:—"It is no jackal but a very dangerous customer who has installed himself in my cave. I dare not face him." Said the monkey:—"The voice you heard was the voice of a female jackal. If you have any misgivings on that score let us go together to the cave and as a proof of my good faith I am willing to have my tail fastened on to yours". So they tied their tails together and proceeded towards the cave. Seeing them the jackal's wife shouted:—"You lazy monkey, I ordered you to bring in seven tigers but you are fetching me only one. You are an absolute noodle; I shall dismiss you from my service." When he heard this the tiger thought that the monkey was only a secret agent in the service of the strange occupant of the cave and that he had been shamefully betrayed. The tiger ran for his life over boulders of stone, across deep crevices and through thorny bushes. Happily for the monkey the knot worked loose before the tiger had gone far and he managed to escape with only a few bruises. As a result of this unfortunate incident the two friends became sworn enemies, and mutually vowed vengeance against each other. The tiger went out in search of the monkey. The monkey was found pounding the seeds of the *Soso* apple (Marking nut)* in a certain place. "Well, what are you doing, monkey dear?" asked the tiger; and the reply was: "You had dragged me over the rocks and through thorny bushes and I am preparing an ointment to heal my bruises." The tiger:—"Will you please give me some so that I may also apply the remedy to my wounds for I too have received injuries." The monkey:—"You

* It is said that the juice extracted from this fruit causes irritation and reduces sores.

may take as much of it as you like for I have got enough and to spare." Saying this the monkey left the place and the tiger rubbed the oil of the marking nuts over his body. The oil produced a burning sensation and the tiger roared in agony. Said the tiger:—"This is the second time that the wily old monkey has attempted to kill me. I must make a clean job of him this time." He searched again for the monkey and found him on a tree where there was a bee-hive. "What are you doing, old monkey?" asked the tiger. The monkey replied:—"I am repairing my drum (*Māṇḍal*) for there will be a dance at the king's palace and I shall have to attend the function as a musician." As a kind of scenic make-believe the monkey uttered a sound (*dātur medangtur*) in imitation of *māṇḍal* music and at the same time gave a mimetic reproduction of a drummer's performance. The tiger:—"Will you please let me just play a bit on your drum?" The monkey:—"No; you will break it." The tiger:—"No, no, Mr. Monkey, I will use the utmost care and I will not break your drum." The monkey:—"Very well, let me step aside for a moment and then you will play on it at your pleasure." The monkey then hid himself in the tree and the tiger climbed up and mistaking the bee-hive for a drum uttered "*dātur medangtur*" and struck the hive so that all the bees fell upon him and stung him and the tiger ran away suffering terrible agony. Now the tiger said to himself: "The monkey has thrice tried to take my life. I shall surely have my revenge this time." He went again in search of the monkey. This time he found his enemy seated on a dry tree under which there was a heap of dry leaves. "What are you doing, monkey dear?" asked the tiger. "I am exposing my wounds to the beneficent rays of the sun up here and they are healing up fast under this treatment." The tiger:—"Will you please let me go and sit there so that my wounds may be cured also." The monkey complied with his request and climbed down and the tiger went up and perched himself on the tree. When he was seated the monkey rubbed two pieces of dry twigs and started a fire. The dry leaves were soon ablaze and the fire involved the tree and the poor tiger was burnt to death.

30.—THE DEVOTION OF A FISHERMAN'S WIFE.

There lived in a certain village a married couple. The husband went every day into the jungles and caught fish and crabs in the hillstreams. To avoid drenching his loin-cloth which was the only wearing apparel he possessed he used to keep it on the river-bank while engaged in fishing. While he was thus engaged one morning his hand was caught in a hole by a crab and while he was struggling to extricate it a huge tiger who was the king of the forest arrived there with his retinue consisting of a number of smaller tigers. The king beheld a pair of berries dangling from a stem and ordered one of his followers to go and examine them and to report if they were ripe. The follower carried out his command and reported that the berries would be ripe by the following morning. The king then departed with his cortege. As the fisherman was very late in returning home owing to this untoward event his wife grew anxious about his safety in a place known to be infested with wild animals and she went into the jungle to look for him. He met her on his way home and told her that his end was near for the great tiger would come again next morning when he would be fishing in the river and would for a certainty devour him. "Be not anxious, my dear," said the devoted wife, "for I will find means for your deliverance". Next morning she volunteered to go into the jungle and catch fish in the river and prevailed upon her husband to stay at home. While she was catching fish in nature's garb there came the king of tigers with his myrmidons. Lashing his tail in fury the king of the forest turned on his followers and said :—"You have made a fool of me. The fruits were ripe but you did not let me taste them yesterday. Now they are gone and nothing remains but the stem." The king in his rage killed all his followers and went away from the place so that the fisherman's wife returned home in safety.*

* Another version has a different ending. The woman on being interrogated said that the berries, being overripe had dropped into the river and had been carried down stream by the current, and thereupon the king and his followers went in search of them along the course of the river and thus enabled the woman to get away.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Dates of Skanda-Gupta and His Successors.

By H. Panday, B.A.

The January (1918) number of the *Hindustan Review* contains a very interesting and learned discussion on the dates of Skanda-Gupta and his successors by Mr. Panna Lall, M. A., B. Sc., L.L.B., I.C.S.

The chronology of the Imperial Gupta dynasty which was the accepted one as late as 1914¹ assigned a reign of some twenty-five years to Skanda-Gupta (455-480 A.C.)² and placed his successors, Pura-Gupta, Narasimha-Gupta and Kumāra-Gupta II between 480 and 550 A.C. Since then, however, fresh discoveries have been made and a fresh adjustment of dates became necessary. In his Catalogue of Gupta coins in the British Museum Mr. Allan has proved that three more names must be added to the list of the known successors of Skanda-Gupta, namely, Prakāśāditya, Dvādaśāditya, and Ghaṭotkacha-Gupta; but no change in the accepted date of Skanda-Gupta's death (480 A.C.) was proposed. So strong was the belief in the correctness of this chronology among scholars generally that when in the excavations at Sarnāth during 1914-15, a fresh discovery was made in the shape of an inscription of a Buddhist monk Abhayamitra mentioning the name of Kumāra-Gupta as the reigning sovereign and dated in the 154th year of the Gupta era, together with another of the same monk mentioning Buddha-Gupta as Ruler of the Land and dated in 157 G.E., it was explained away by expressing a belief or conjecture as to the existence of a third Kumāra-Gupta! The

¹ See V. Smith *Early History of India* (3rd Ed.) pp. 308-311.

² *Ibid*; also Allan, *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, p. cxxvii.

importance of Mr. Panna Lall's paper lies in its independent and satisfactory solution of the problem raised by the last-mentioned discovery. It is a contribution to history of which any scholar may well be proud, inasmuch as the author has not had the monopoly of a chance 'find' but bases his conclusion on an examination of materials already available.

Mr. Panna Lall has tried in this paper to prove :—

(1) That the reign of Skanda-Gupta ended in 467 A.C. and that he was followed by Pura-Gupta (467-469), Narasimha-Gupta (469-473), Kumāra-Gupta II (473-477) and Buddha-Gupta (477-494); Prakāśāditya, Dvādaśāditya and Ghaṭoṭhaka-Gupta being also relegated to the period between 469 and 477 A.C.

(2) That the Kumāra-Gupta of the Sārnāth inscription is identical with (a) the Kumāra-Gupta, son of Narasimha-Gupta Balāditya of the Bhiṭṭi Seal and (b) the Kumāra-Gupta mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of 529 M.E. (473 A.C.).

With regard to the first Mr. Panna Lall rests his arguments mainly on the following facts :—

(a) the absence of any recorded date for Skanda-Gupta after 467 A.C.;

(b) the discovery of inscriptions dated in 474 and 477 A.C. at Sārnāth, in the very heart of Gupta dominions, mentioning the names of other kings,

(c) the untrustworthiness of the legend recorded by Hiuen Tsang ascribing the defeat of Mihirgula to Balāditya of Magadha.

It was due to a mistaken reading of the date on a silver coin of Skanda-Gupta (160 for 145 G.E.)³ that this emperor was assigned a long reign extending to 480 A. C. The error was corrected by Allan⁴ but its effect on the chronology of this period was not then recognized. The credibility of the legend recorded by Hiuen Tsang according to which the credit for the discomfiture of the Hūna tyrant was given to Balāditya, a Buddhist king

³ *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, page 133.

⁴ Allan, *Gupta, Coins*, page 133.

of Magadha, was also doubted as far back as 1909, and by the very scholar who first advocated it⁵. But historians like Mr. Vincent Smith persevered in their faith as to the legend being authentic and had to go to the length of conjuring up a confederacy of Indian kings to combat the Hūṇa⁶. It was due to the mistaken identification (on the basis of this legend) of the Magadhan Balāditya with Balāditya Narasimha-Gupta and the confusing of both these with the destroyer of Mihirgula that the date 530 A.C. for Narasimha-Gupta was arrived at. Mr. Panna Lall has brought together in his paper sufficient evidence to settle this point. As so ably proved by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in the *Indian Antiquary* (July 1917, p. 153) the hero who annihilated Mihiragula was no other than Yaśodharman of the Mandasor pillar inscriptions whom this scholar has identified with Kalki of the Purāṇas. In this matter, therefore, Mr. Panna Lall's thesis is supported by Mr. Jayaswal's examination of Purāṇic and Jaina datang to the subject. So this question has now been settled. The dates for Skanda-Gupta and his successors now suggested by Mr. Panna Lall will, therefore, be accepted and future discoveries—unless these be such as to weaken the literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence collated by Mr. Panna Lall—may be expected to confirm his conclusion.

With regard to the second point, however, Mr. Panna Lall's proposition is not equally sound. So far as the identity of the Kumāra-Gupta of the Sarnāth inscription and the Kumāra-Gupta of the Bhitri seal is concerned the learned author has established his case. The chronology as now revised will not allow two Kumāra-Guptas in this period. The evidence of palæography and numismatics and of literature also leads to the same conclusion.

But when we come to the identification of the Kumāra-Gupta of the Sarnāth inscription with the Kumāra-Gupta of the Mandasor inscription of M.E. 529, the case is entirely different. Mr. Panna Lall would interpret the Mandasor inscription to refer to the

⁵ *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 92—95.

⁶ *Early History of India*, page 318.

reign of Kumāra-Gupta II. For this he has to put upon the text a construction which, though not opposed to Sanskrit syntax is obviously not the natural one. In this he has repeated the mistake unfortunately made by the late Dr. Fleet, though differently. Both Dr. Fleet and Mr. Panna Lall would have us believe that the Mandasor inscription is a "eulogy". There is no word in the original inscription itself for this "eulogy". The composer of the text himself calls it "history".

अथैतद्विषयं-अस्माकं च कारितं भवनं रवेः ।

पूर्वा च यं प्रयत्नेन रक्षिता वत्सभट्टिना ॥

The most natural meaning of this verse would be :--

"This temple of the Sun was caused to be built by the command of the Śreṇi (corporation) and this history' (*pūrvā* stands for *pūrvā kathā*) was composed, out of devotion, by Vatsa Bhaṭṭi." Fleet's translation, "this (eulogy) that preceeds" is opposed to Sanskrit idiom and Mr. Panna Lall should have avoided this obvious error which is indirectly responsible for his identification of the Sarnāth Kumāra-Gupta with Kumāra-Gupta (I) overlord of Viśhvavarmā of Western Malwa.

The Mandasor inscription is unique among the epigraphic records of India in that it gives the history of a temple commencing with its founders. The main facts of history preserved in this inscription may be briefly stated as follows :

The famous silk-weavers of Lāṭa left their beautiful country and migrated to Daśapura with their families, where they settled ; and as the city grew into importance in course of time, it became the "fore-head ornament of the Earth". Here they were admitted to all the privileges of citizenship and betook themselves to various honourable professions. Among them were archers, story-tellers, religiously-minded men, lecturers, astronomers and soldiers, while some of them retained their hereditary occupation of silk-weaving. Silk was a favourite article of clothing among

⁷ Compare for instance the different expressions found in the Gupta inscriptions,

शासनं, सङ्गर्भस्थापनं, प्रशस्तिः, शिलाखण्डः, काव्य and शोक ।

It would be absurd to adopt a universal term "eulogy" for all these.

the *beau monde* in those days "no lady was considered charming however much she may be adorned otherwise, until she put on a pair of silk pieces". These Daśapura weavers manufactured cloths of variegated patterns and designs, pleasing to the eye, and soft to the touch, and their articles were in great demand (lit. went for the adornment of the world). Their material prosperity, however, did not stand in the way of their realizing the transitory nature of this world, life and prosperity and adhering to this virtuous idea. Now, while Kumāra-Gupta was Emperor of India (lit. ruling over the earth between the four seas) their ruler was a king named Viśvavarmā, renowned for his learning, his prowess and sympathy towards the poor, etc. His son was Bandhuvarmā, possessed of firmness, statesmanship, etc. It was in the reign of this very noble Bandhuvarman that a majestic temple of the Sun was "caused to be built " at Daśapura by the guild of silk-weavers from funds raised among themselves (lit. with the stores of wealth acquired by the exercise of their craft). It had "broad and lofty spires" was "white as the mass of the rays of the risen moon" resembled a mountain and appeared like a "lovely crest-jewel" in the Western City. This temple was constructed (निवेष्टितः) on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya (Pausa) in the Hemanta season in the 493rd expired year of the Mālava reckoning. When a long time and other kings had gone by, a portion of this edifice 'fell into disrepair'. Now, therefore, the whole of this majestic temple of the Sun was "repaired" by the "munificent corporation". It was "lofty and pure " touching the sky, as it were, with its charming spires, and caught the first rays of the sun and the moon as they rose. When 529 years (of the Mālava era) had elapsed, on the 2nd day of the bright half of Tapasya (Phālguna) in the Śisira season, the whole city was gracefully adorned by this superior edifice as the cloudless sky is adorned by the moon and the breast of Vishna by the Kaustubha gem. " So long as the god Īśa (Śiva) wears his matted locks and the god Śārngin (Vishnu) the lotus garland on his shoulder so long may this noble edifice endure ! "

This narrative is perfectly intelligible and no forced construction is needed to explain the dates mentioned in the record. The temple was first built in M. E. 493 (=437 A. C.) during the reign of Bandhuvarman. Bandhuvarman's father Viśvavarman was ruler of Daśapura during the imperial rule of Kumāra-Gupta I. Mr. Jayaswal in a note in the *Indian Antiquary* for November 1917 believes on the evidence of the Mudrā-Rākṣhaśa that Bandhuvarman, during his youth, was in the court of Chandra-Gupta, father of Kumāra-Gupta I. It is possible that this event marks the turning point in the history of Malwa whose former rulers had been independent sovereigns. The Mandasor inscription proves that it was Viśvavarman who first acknowledged the overlordship of the Gupta Emperor; for in the Gangdhār inscription (Fleet, *Gupta Ins.*, page 72) of 480 (424 A. C.) he is described as an independent sovereign and there is evidently a reference to his successful resistance of the Gupta forces.⁸ The conquest of Malwa by the Guptas has, therefore, to be dated between 424 and 437 A. C.⁹ It must have been accomplished by Kumāra-Gupta I as the latter succeeded Chandra-Gupta in 413 A. C. This would explain why Kumāra-Gupta is specially mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of 529 M. E., and not the then Gupta Emperor whose hold over Malwa at that time is doubtful, as the death of Skanda-Gupta was followed by a disruption of the empire and the outlying province of Malwa may be inferred to have been one of the first to take advantage of the weakness of the central government brought about by the attacks of the Pushyamitras and the Hūnas. This is also borne out by numismatic evidence.¹⁰ As such it does not appear reasonable to hold that Kumāra-Gupta II was overlord of Malwa

8 यः प्रकथते न रिपुभिर्भयविह्वलाच्चैरदोक्षितुं क्षममपि प्रयच्छीतशस्त्रः ll. 9-10.

⁸ Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, on the evidence of the Jaina *Harivamśa Purāṇa* by Jināsena (8th century A. C.) dates the decline of Gupta power in Malwa after 431 A. C. Kumāra-Gupta's conquest must, therefore, have been only short-lived. *Ind. Ant.* 1917, p. 148.

¹⁰ V. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 311; Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p. XLIX.

in 529 M. E., and consequently the identification of the Kumāra-Gupta mentioned in the Sarnāth inscription with Kumāra-Gupta named in the Mandasor record is untenable.

The non-mention of the ruling king in this inscription to which Mr. Panna Lall draws attention in his paper, need not be emphasized to prove his identification. The history of Malwa in this period is not well known. It is quite possible that in the troublous times during the Hūna invasions and the Pushyamitra wars Malwa passed into a kingless country and the guild of silk-weavers at Daśapura had to find funds for repairing the most important religious edifice in their city; as otherwise the expenditure on the maintenance of religious shrines was borne by the State in Hindu times.¹¹ That such was the state of the country round Daśapura at the time we are considering may be surmised—although it remains to be supported by other evidence—from the subsequent history of the country and its occupation by Toramāṇa in *circa.* 484 A. C.

¹¹ Compare also the date (431 A. C.) given by Jinasena for the decline of the Gupta power in Western India. *Ind. Ant.*, 1917, p. 148.

II.—Further Note on the Use of the Swallow-worts in the Rituals of the Hindus.

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

IN my previous paper entitled "*On the Use of the Swallow-worts in the Ritual, Sorcery and Leechcraft of the Hindus and Pre-Islamitic Arabs*" which has been published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for June 1918, I have discussed the uses to which the swallow-worts (*Calotropis gigantea* and *C. procera*) are put in the rain-compelling ceremonies of the Hindus and the Pagan Arabs, as also in the wedding and agricultural ceremonies of the former. I have also shown that this plant was largely used by the Hindus in nefarious sorcery and in the concoction of various nostrums or folk-medicines for the cure of scorpion-stings, dog-bites, earache, toothache, elephantiasis and white leprosy. I have also given the Sanskrit texts and the English translations of ten incantations or charms used by them in black magic, and of eight recipes or prescriptions for the concoction of nostrums for the cure of the aforementioned ills that the human flesh is heir to. Incidentally, I have also discussed the supposed characteristics or influences of the 27 lunar asterisms as are set forth in Hindu astrology :—

1.—*The Use of the Flowers of the Swallow-worts in the Worship of the Sun-deity.*

IN the present paper, I shall deal with the deities of the Hindu Pantheon in whose worship the swallow-wort (*Calotropis*) is used. I have already stated in my previous paper that Dr. Dymock says, though without authority, that, in the Vedic Period, the leaves of the swallow-wort were used in the worship of the Sun. But the following text in Sanskrit shows that the

flowers of the *arka* (*Calotropis*) were and are still employed in the worship of the Sun-deity :—

मल्लिका माखती चैव दूर्वाशोकातिमुक्तकम् ।
 पाटशा करवीरश्च जया पावन्तिरेवम् ।
 झूटजस्तमरश्चैव कर्णिकारः कुरुण्टकः ।
 चम्पको वकुलः कुन्दः शालो वर्न्मरमल्लिका ।
 अशोकं तिलकं खोष्ट्रं तथा चैवाटस्थकः ।
 शतपत्राणि सान्त्वानि वकार्कश्च विशेषतः ।
 अगस्त्यं किंशुकं सद्यः पूज्यायां भास्करस्य तु ।
 विलुपचं शमीपत्रं पत्रं भृङ्गराजस्य तु ।
 तुलसी काशतुलसी तथा रक्तच चन्दनम् ।

Translation.

The Sun-deity should be worshipped with (the offerings of the undernoted flowers, namely,) *mallikā* [Arabian jasmine (*Jasminum sambac*)], *mālātī* (*Echites caryophyllata*), (the grass) *dūrvā* (*Cynodon dactylon*), (the flowers of the) *asoka* (*Jonesia asoka*), *atimuktaka* or *mādhavi-latā* [the Creeping Chestnut (*Hiptage madablota*)], *pāṭa'ā* (*Bignonia suaveolens*), *karavīra* or the oleander (*Nerium odorum*), *jayā* or *jayantī* (*Sesbania aculeata*), *pāvanti* or *pāribhādhraka* or *pārijāta*, *kūṭaja* or *girimallikā*, *tagara* or the East Indian Rose-bay (*Tabernaemontana coronari*), *karṇikāra*, *kuruṇṭaka* (*Barleria* spp.), *champakā* (*Michelia champaka*), *bakula* (*Mimusops elengi*), *kunda* (*Jasminum pubescens*), *śāla* (*Shorea robusta*), *barbarā mallikā* (a kind of jasmine), *asoka* (it may be another kind of flower), *tilaka* (*Clerodendron phlomoides*), *lodhra* (*Symplocos racemosa*), *aturushaka* or *vāsaka* (? *Adhatoda vasica*), *padma* (the lotus), *vaka* (*Agati grandiflora*), *arka* or *ākanda*, *agastya* and *palās* (*Butea frondosa*). Offerings of the leaves of the *bael* tree (*Aegle marmelos*), *samī* tree (? *Prosopis juliflora*), *bhringaraāja* tree, *tu.asī* or the sacred basil (*Ocimum sanctum*), *kīlatulasī* or the black basil and red sandalwood-paste should also be made to the Sun-deity.

II.—The Use of the Flowers of the Swallow-worts in the Worship of the Deity Śiva.

In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, the following passage occurs, which shows that the flowers of the *arka* or *ākanda* (*Calotropis gigantea*) were and are still used in the worship of the deity Mahādeva or Śiva:—

१. अर्कान्न्यसहस्रेभ्यः करवीरं शतस्यते ।
२. करवीरसहस्रेभ्यो विस्वपत्रं विशिष्यते ॥
३. करवीरसमा ज्ञेया जातोवकुलपाटलाः ।
४. प्रवेतमन्दारकुसुमं पश्येत्पद्मञ्च तत्समम् ॥
५. नानासम्यक्कृत्वा नानाधूपतुलसीः समाः सन्ताः ।

Translation.

1. [In the worship of (the deity) Śiva], one *karavīra* (*Nerium odorum*) flower is (considered) more valuable than one thousand flowers of the *arka* or *ākanda* plant (*Calotropis gigantea*). (In other words, much more merit is acquired by worshipping Śiva with the offering of only one *karavīra* or oleander-flower than is done by worshipping the same deity with the offering of one thousand *ākanda* or *Calotropis* flowers).

2. (The offering of) the leaves of the *bael* tree (*Ægle marmelos*) is productive of greater merit than (the offering of) one thousand *karavīra* or oleander-flowers.

3. (In the worship of Śiva, the offerings of the flowers of the *jāti* (*Jasminum grandiflorum*), *bakula* (*Mimusops elengi*) and *pātala* (*Bignonia suaveolens*) produce the same amount of merit (as that of) *karavīra* flowers.

4. (The offerings of) the flowers of the *sveta mandāra* (*Erythrina alba*), and of the white lotus (*Nelumbium speciosum*) (also) produce the same kind of merit.

5. (In the worship of Śiva, the offerings of) the flowers of the *nāgachampaka* (*Mesua ferrea*), *punnāga* or *pulīna* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), the *dātūrā* or thorn-apple (*Datura stramonium*

and *ākanda* (*Calotropis gigantea*) bring (to the worshipper) the same amount of merit.

Another long passage is to be found in the *Bhaviṣhya Purāṇa*, wherein the deity Śiva enumerates to his spouse Pārvatī the names of the flowers which are his favourites, as also of those which are not acceptable to his deityship. From this lengthy passage, I give below the following extracts which will show that, among others, the flowers of the *arka* or *ākanda* (*Calotropis gigantea*) are very acceptable to Śiva :—

१. पुष्पाणि कथयाम्यद्य दृढान्यनिष्ठानि सुन्दरि ।

२. करवीरोवक्ष्येव अर्कमुन्मत्तकस्तथा ॥

* * * * *

३. भावेनहं प्रदत्तानि सर्वाणि कुसुमानि च ।

४. गृह्णामि शिरसा देवि यन्मे भक्ता निवेद्येत् ॥

Translation.

1. (Śiva says) : “ O beautiful (lady Pārvatī) ! I shall to-day enumerate (to you) the names of my favourite flowers, as also of those which are not acceptable to me.”

2. “ *Karavīra* or oleander (*Nerium odorum*), *vaka* (*Agati grandiflora*), *arka* or *ākanda* (*Calotropis gigantea*), *unmatlaṅka* or *dhātūrā* (*Datura stramonium*) and others (of which the names are given in the omitted lines of the passage). ”

3 & 4. “ O beautiful (lady Pārvatī) ! if all the (aforementioned) flowers are offered to me (in worship) with feelings of devotion, I accept them with my head bowed down. ”

Then, in the following passage of the same *Purāṇa*, the special merits acquired by worshipping the deity Śiva with offerings of special flowers [among which are the flowers of the *arka* (*Calotropis*)] are enumerated :—

१. दृष्टीकुसुमैर्भक्त्या सकृदेव सिद्धमश्नुते ।

२. गवामश्रुतदानस्य फलं प्राप्य दिवं व्रजेत् ॥

३. अशोकश्चैतमन्दारकणिकारवकानि च ।

४. करवीरार्कमन्दारशमीतगरकीश्वरः ॥

५. पुष्पैरेतेयथास्वाभैर्वीनरः पूजयेद्विह ।
 ६. स यत्पुष्पमवाप्नोति तदिदंैकमनाः शृणु ॥
 ७. सूर्यकोटिप्रतिकाशैर्विमानैः सम्भूतकामिकैः ।
 ८. दीधूयमानश्चमरैः शिवलोकं महीयते ।

Translation.

1 & 2. That man, who worships Śiva's phallus only once, and with feelings of devotion, with an offering of the *brihatī* flower or the flower of the small variety of brinjal (*Solanum melongena*), acquires the merit of making a gift of ten thousand kine and goes to heaven.

3, 4, 5 & 6. Hear attentively the following account of the merits acquired by that man who worships (Śiva) with any one of the following flowers, namely, *asoka* (*Jonesia asoka*), *sveta-mandāra* (*Erythrina alba*), *karṇikāra* (*Thevetia nerifolia*), *vaka* (*Agati grandiflora*), *karavīra* (*Nerium odorum*), *arka* (*Calotropis gigantea*), *mandāra* (*Erythrina sp*), *samī* (*Prosopis juliflora*), *tagara* (*Tabernaemontana coronaria*) and *keśara*.

7 & 8. Driving in a chariot which glitters with the splendour of one *kror* of suns and which fulfils all the desires (of one's heart), and fanned (on both sides) with fly-flappers (made of the yaks' tails), he (worshipper of Śiva) goes to the world of Śiva.

In the *Skanda Purāṇa* also, the virtues acquired by worshipping the deity Śiva with the flowers of the *a ka* or swallow-wort (*Calotropis gigantea*) are set forth as follows :—

१. चतुर्णां पुष्पजातीनां गन्धमाघ्राति शङ्करः ।
 २. अर्कस्य करवीरस्य बिल्वस्य च वकस्य च ॥
 ३. मणिमुक्ताप्रवाहैश्च रत्नैरप्यर्चनं मम ।
 ४. न गच्छामि बिना देवि बिल्वपत्रैर्वैरागने ॥

Translation.

1 & 2. (The deity) Śaṅkara or Śiva smells the scents of only four kinds of flowers, namely, the *arka* or swallow-wort (*Calotropis gigantea*), *karavīra* (*Nerium odorum*), the *buel* (*Agile marmelos*) and the *vaka* (*Agati grandiflora*).

3 & 4. (Śiva, addressing his spouse Pārvati, says) : "O beautiful-faced lady ! if anybody worships me even with the offering of (such valuable articles as) gems, pearls and corals, but without mixing the same with the leaves of the *bael* tree (*Ægle marmelos*), I do not accept (his worship)".

III.—The Bogra Inscription.

Khan Bahadur Saiyid Zahirrud-din points out that the Arabic text in the Bogra inscription (published *ante*, page 179) is the famous "Throne Verse" of the Kuran†. Its translation is as follows :—

"God ! there is no God but he ; the living, the self-subsisting ; neither slumber nor sleep seizeth him ; to him belongeth whatsoever is in heaven, and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with him, but through his good pleasure ? He knoweth that which is past, and that which is to come unto them, and they shall not comprehend anything of his knowledge, but so far as he pleaseth. His throne is extended over heaven and earth, and the preservation of both is no burden unto him. He is the high, the mighty." (Chapter II, Verse 256.)

It is one of the most popular verses of the Kuran ; it is read in prayers, and on obsequial occasions and as requiem.

The Rt. Hon'ble Saiyid Amir Ali has given the verse at the head of Chapter I of his "Spirit of Islam."

The translation of the other text which is a saying of the Prophet (Hadis) is as follows :—

"For him who builds a mosque in this world,
"God builds a mansion in Heaven."

† The verse is called the "Throne verse", because the word "Kursi", which means throne, occurs in it.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I.—Proceedings of the Council Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa, Research So- ciety, held on 27th July 1918 at 4 p.m. at the Society's Office.

PRESENT :

Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S., Vice-Presi-
dent in the Chair.

Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I.

Babu Sharat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Professor Jogendra Nath Samaddar, B.A., F.R.E.S., F.H.S.,
Treasurer.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Secretary.

1. The proceedings of the last meeting were confirmed.
2. With reference to the appointment of the clerk, the Vice-President said that the clerk which the Secretary appointed temporarily had continued to work satisfactorily and had therefore been retained.
3. It was decided that a better qualified duffry is required and that enquiries should be made with a view to obtain one better qualified for which the present pay of Rs. 12 may be raised if the Vice-President considers it to be necessary for the purpose of obtaining suitable man.
4. Government letter No. 477-E., dated the 8th May 1918, was read making a grant of Rs. 500 for the year 1918-19 to cover the cost of a clerk, peon, and office establishment of Babu Sharat Chandra Roy, Anthropological Secretary of the Society and also granting a fixed sum for Babu Sharat Chandra Roy's travelling allowance, and also Government letter No. 739-E.,

dated the 12th June 1918, making a grant of Rs. 2,500, for the travelling allowance of Babu Sharat Chandra Roy and his staff.

Babu Sharat Chandra Roy asked that as the grant made by Government of Rs. 500 only, and not Rs. 600 asked for by the Society, which would have provided for the cost of getting his matter type written, and as Government has said that it was open to the Society to supplement the grant made, as they might think necessary, he might be provided with a typewriting machine. It was resolved that he be provided with a typewriting machine if a second hand one in good condition can be obtained. Mr. Jayaswal said that he had a Remington No. 10 to dispose of which has had very little use, as he no longer required it. It was resolved that the machine be valued by the Local Agent of the Remington Company. Resolved that the machine be purchased up to the limit of Rs. 250.

5. The Secretary said that he had been unable to procure a bicycle for the Chuprassie for Rs. 120. It was resolved that the allotment be raised to Rs. 150, if necessary.

6. The preparation of the Hand List of the Library Books was considered. The Secretary said it had not been possible to prepare the list yet as several fresh books were being received. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, has also not yet made over the books which he promised to give to the Society. The Secretary wrote to Mr. Sinha on the subject in March last. The Vice-President said that he would write to Mr. Sinha, and arrange in consultation with him for the books which he was kindly willing to present, to be made over now to the Society.

7. The following new members were elected :—

1. Babu Akhaury Permishwar Dyal, B.A., L.L.B., Vakil, Patna.
2. Mr. Bhavatosh Mozumdar, Assistant in the office of the Director General of Archaeology in India, Simla.
3. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal—Extra Assistant Commissioner, Jabbalpur.

8. The question of the paper of the Journal was considered. It was resolved that the printing is not satisfactory on the thinner

paper on which the March issue of the Journal was printed, on account of the high rise in the price of the paper, and that the June number of the Journal be printed on the former thicker paper.

9. The List of Books purchased for the Library since the last meeting of the Council was approved and the expenditure sanctioned.

10. It was resolved that the Pali Text-book Society's series be purchased up to a limit of Rs. 500.

11. The application of Pandit Biswanath Roth for the appointment of an Assistant was considered. It was resolved that the matter stand over until the Catalogues which he has prepared up to the present and which he has been asked to forward, have been received and examined, and that Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri then be consulted on the subject.

12. The purchase of a durrie, two whatnots, Stationery rack, pardah, table fittings and one alm'rah, for the Secretary's Office was sanctioned, also a Wall Clock for the Library.

13. Resolved that the necessary bathroom furniture be purchased for the bathroom.

JOURNAL

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BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. IV.]

[PART IV.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Note on An Inscribed Copper Axe-head from Orissa.

By His Honour Sir Edward Albert Galt, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

On the occasion of a recent visit to Balasore Maulavi Abdus Samad, one of the Deputy Collectors stationed there, told me, in the course of conversation, that his ancestors were Brāhmins descended from Pōtesvara Bhaṭṭa. This Pandit obtained a grant of land from Rājā Purushōttama Deva, who is believed to have ruled in Orissa from 1466 to 1496 A.D.¹ The grant was resumed by the Nawāb of Bengal from Pōtesvara's descendant Sarvesvara. The latter went to Delhi and appealed to Aurangzeb, who gave him back his estates on condition that he became a Muhammadan. He accordingly embraced the Muhammadan religion, and his descendants have remained Muhammadans up to the present time, though they still retain many Hindu practices and

¹ Epigraphical evidence for years 1466-67 A.D.—1496 A. D. has been found, J. A. S. B., Vol. 62, I, p. 90.

The rule of this king extended over a large part of the Telugu country. A grant of his in Telugu has been recovered, and he is described in all his inscriptions as the lord of Gulbarga. See E. I., XIII, p. 156; J. A. S. B., Vol. 62, I, p. 88 ff.

intermarry only with certain families which, like themselves, are of Hindu origin.

On my asking the Maulavi if he had any record of the grant of land made to his ancestor by Rājā Purushōttama Deva, I learnt that it was inscribed on a copper plate which is still in the possession of the family. The Maulavi afterwards sent me this plate for examination. It proves to be of exceptional interest, as it is identical in shape with some of the unfinished copper axe-heads which I mentioned in the address delivered by me to the Research Society in February 1917. It would thus appear that after these copper implements had been displaced as such by implements of iron they still continued to be made for other purposes, just as the still earlier stone implements, now popularly believed to be thunderbolts, are thought by ignorant villagers in many parts of India and elsewhere to possess medicinal efficacy ; and, in the Darjeeling hills at least, they are still manufactured surreptitiously for the use of the village quack. Among other instances of the survival of primitive appliances may be mentioned the custom still prevalent amongst various Dravidian tribes of obtaining fire by friction in connexion with certain religious ceremonies, the use by the village midwife of a piece of shell or bamboo for severing the umbilical cord, and the presentation to the bride of a piece of burnished brass as a mirror in the marriage ceremony of certain Bengal castes.

When the large copper axes figured opposite page 386 of the J.B.O.B.S. for 1916 were found, some of the local people suggested that they were intended to be used for inscriptions. As no such use of copper implements had previously come to light this suggestion was rejected in favour of the view that they were ~~burial-urns~~ to be carried on ceremonial occasions if not in actual warfare. Now that this instance of an inscription on an axe-head has been discovered, the local explanation of the use to which the Mayurbhanj axe-heads were to be put deserves further consideration.

A copy of the inscription with its translation is appended. .

TRANSLITERATION.

(OVERSE—IN ORIYĀ.)

Śrī-Jaya-Durgāyai namaḥ Bīra Śrī Gajapati Gaṇdeśvara-
Nabakōṭi-Karnāṭa Kalabargeśvara Śrī Purushōttama Dēva
Mahārājāmkaraḥ Pōteśvara Bhaṭṭamku Dāna Śāsana Paṭṭa. 25
amka Mesha di 10 A. Sōma-Bāra grahaṇa-kāle Gangā-gaṛṭhe
Purushōttamapūra Śāsana Bhūmi chaṇḍasa a-hōttara Bā 1408
ṭi dāna delump. E Bhūmi yāvat chaṇḍārke putra-putrādi-
Purushānukrame bhōga karuthiba Jalāgama-nikshepa-sahita
bhūmi delump.

(REVERSE—IN SANSKRIT.)

Yāvat chandraścha Sūryaścha yāvat tiṣṭhati medīni tāvat
dattā mayā hi-śhā'sasyayuktā Basundharā. Sva dattāṃ para-
dattāṃ bā brahma-bṛittāṃ haret yah Shashṭhi-barsha-sahasraṇi
biṣṭhāyāṃ jāyate krimih.

Śrī Madana Gopāla Saranam mama.

[a letter or initial, conch shell, sword and dagger.]

TRANSLATION.

(OVERSE.)

Bow down to Śrī-Jaya-Durgā. Deed of gift by B(V)ira
Śrī Gajapati Śrī Purushōttama Deva Mahārāja, Lord of Gauḍa,
Lord of Navakōṭi-Karnāṭa and Kalabarga (=Gulbarga)* to
Pōteśvara Bhaṭṭa. On Monday, the 10th day of Mesha, on
A (māvāsyā), in the 25th *aṣṭak* (year of my reign), on the bed of
the Ganges, at the time of eclipse, I grant Purushōttomapurāśa-
na 1408 Bāṭis of land. You will enjoy the land with your sons,
grandsons and so on from generation to generation, so long
as the Sun and the Moon exist. I grant the land with a libation
and delivery of document.

(REVERSE.)

So long the Sun, the Moon and the Earth endure, I grant
this land with the crops thereon. One who resumes the grant
made to the Brāhmanas either by himself or by others, is born as
a worm in the nightsoil for sixty thousand years.

Save me Śrī Madana-Gopāla.

* See E. I., XIII, p. 66. In some records the word is spelt as *Kalabarga*.† On the curious *aṣṭak* system of dating see J. A. S. B., 62, part I, p. 46;
E. I. XIII, 160.

II.—Hāthīgumphā Inscription revised from the Rock.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

Since the publication of the inscription in this Journal (Vol. III, 425 ff) two passages in it seem to have been considered most important : the passage containing the name of the king of Magadha and that giving the date. The new reading and interpretation of those passages involved such great issues as requiring revision of the chapter of Indian history for the period, cir. 200-150 B.C. I therefore decided to make a direct study of the passages on the original rock ; and I applied to His Honour Sir Edward Gait, Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, for official help without which the rock is practically inaccessible. His Honour, who has been ever ready to further the cause of the recovery of Indian history, kindly granted the request. His name will always be associated with the elucidation of this important record, as it is due to his interest that we now possess the facts which this record had to tell on the history of this country. Mr. H. Panday, Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, was directed to render necessary assistance on the spot. Once face to face with the chiselled history, I not only verified the two important passages—the object of the visit, but revised the reading of the whole record. This was completed in seven days.

Before giving the results I must thankfully acknowledge the assistance and co-operation of Mr. Panday who not only cheerfully accepted to forgo his Poojā vacation and helped my work with technical impressions and casts but also kept me company in the task of reading and re-reading the faded and difficult lines at different angles of light and shade, every day from 8-30 A.M. to 3-30 P.M. My object has been to reach finality, as far as possible,

(A)

HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION.



PORTION OF LINE 12.

(B)



END OF LINE 15.

J. B. O. R. S., IV, 1912.

Scale One-fifth of the original.

in the text of the inscription, and Mr. Panday's unflagging zeal to that cause I cannot exaggerate.

The text, as now added to and corrected, may be taken as practically definite, except for the words or letters enclosed in brackets.

New passages in as many as ten out of seventeen lines have been now recovered which had been formerly given up as entirely lost, since the time of Prinsep. The lacuna in line 5 is narrowed down to the space of some 10 letters, while line 6 is entirely filled up and the record of the sixth year completed. The record of the seventh year, which had been considered entirely lost, is now recovered to fifty per cent. Substantial advance has been made in the recovery of lost passages in lines 8, 9 and 10. The record of the eleventh year is now fully known but for 2 letters. Line 12 is approaching completion, and lines 13 and 14 which had not been even half read, stand now fully deciphered except the opening portion where the rock has chipped off clean. Line 15 is similarly completed but for two words the reading of which is held back for future verification. The small gap in line 17 is also removed.

The result of the new and corrected readings may be briefly summarized.

The capital of Kalinga had an artificial fountain before 173 B.C., the reservoir (tank) of which, damaged by storm, was restored by the king as soon as he came to the throne.

The grammatical form (instrumental) by which the number of the subjects is expressed shows that the number was "ascertained" and "accurate". The rule which explains this significance of the instrumental form is indicated in the footnote to the Sanskrit rendering and here below. According to that the sentence means: "the king pleased (his) thirty-five hundred thousand subjects having ascertained them *(in the first year of the reign)".

*cf. शतेन वत्सान् पाययति पयः शतेन परिच्छिद्य etc. See Siddhanta-Kamudi, sub. Pāṇini, II, 3-23. For the meaning of *parichchida* see *ibid* sub. P. II, 3-46.

परिमात्रमात्रे श्रोत्रो श्रोत्रोः । श्रोत्र-रूपं
यत्परिमात्रं तत्परिच्छिन्नो श्रोत्रिरित्यर्थः ।

barriers)". After the fall of Gorathagiri the latter was besieged by the Orissan king. To invest Rājagriha was possible only if the invader had a very large army, and it is expressly mentioned that his army was a large one. An army division was inside the Rājagriha fortress. The King of Magadha moved away to Mathurā during these adverse operations. We do not know the result of the siege of Rājagriha as the remaining line is still unread. The Government has accepted my suggestion to have a cast of the inscription made for the Patna Museum. When that cast is made the mystery will be probably solved.

The Southern kings seem to have been friendly to Khāravela. He does not come in conflict with them; on the other hand, one of them, the Pāṇḍyan, who probably represented the leading power of the South, honoured him by sending friendly presents. In undertaking his invasion of Northern India Khāravela observed the Vedic rites and solemnities prescribed for such occasions. It is remarkable that the invasion of the North was marked by the popular pageant emphasizing the memory of the national hero—"the cause of nation reputation"—KETU BHADRA, the Orissan General in the Mahā-Bhārata war (J.B.O.R.S., III, 436). A statue representing him, in wood, was installed on a pavilion made of 'tall timbers' and mounted on huge wheels, and was led in procession. The pavilion on wheels was the precursor of the present-day religious car of Orissa.

We find further evidence of the architectural taste of the King. He built "Shelters" for his Queen, *Dhisi* (= *Dhristi*) on the holy Kumāri Hill (Khandagiri-Udayagiri) at the cost of 7½ millions of the then rupee, the *pana*. The Queen's Shelters or Temporary Palaces are the rock-cut buildings now called the "Queen's Palace", a few yards from the site of the inscription (see below). The ruins impress the mind by their *ensemble* grandeur and fine art. The columns of the lower story were encased in a mosaic of beryl (line 16). Incidentally we gather that mason-artists were rewarded by land grants.

The record stops with the thirteenth year of the King's reign. That the king lived at least three or four decades longer is evident from the Svargapuri (or Manchapuri) inscription of his chief Queen, probably Dhristi, * who is described as the wife of the reigning Emperor Khāra-vela. The forms of letters, which are later, show an interval between the two records of 30 to 40 years.

In concluding this summary of new data I have now to touch upon the dated portion. The date is found to be there and to correspond to 160 B. C. as formerly stated, but not precisely on the old readings and interpretation. The first of the two expressions which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji and, after him, I and Mr. R. D. Banerji read as giving the date, really *relates to the cost of the "Queen's Shelter". All the readings of the second expression commencing with *Muriya-kāla* (Muriya era) have been defective. It is curious that after all trials Bhagwan Lal Indraji's conclusion of the record being dated in 160th year in an era of [the Mauryas comes out successfully, although his reading is very greatly modified and his main interpretation entirely rejected (see below). His long experience had produced a sort of historical instinct in that great scholar. His grasp of the significance of the expression *Muriya-kāla*, with figures before and after, led him to anticipate the right conclusion.

As to the reading of the text I found that in many places where Bhagwan Lal was wrong, Cunningham had been right. I was greatly struck by this fact and this made me enquire as to the

*It is considered that she is unnamed in the inscription. What epigraphists have read as *dhutana*, seems to me to be *Dhūt[ī]nā* which would be another Prakrit form of *Dhristi*. She was daughter of Lālāka (Lālārka), who was son of *Hastin*, who again was son of *Hansa*. This last has been missed by the editors of the inscription (E. I., XIII, 159). It has been erroneously read with the preceding *Hathisa*, from which it is really separated by space. The *anusvara* on *Ha* is very very clearly incised. The supposed name *Hathisaṇḥasa* would be absurd, meaning 'a coward'. The words are to be read (and I read them on the spot): *L[ā]lakasa Hathisa Hansa-papotasa*.

In the lower building the inscription is of the successor; the construction shows that the lower building could have been built after the Queen's (upper) house. In the lower one the reigning King is *Kadapa* (= Kandarpa) (or *Kādepa*?). The space before the name was mistaken by Bhagwan Lal to represent another letter.

materials on which that scholar worked. I noticed that he had the help of the cast once prepared by Locke. This fact and the decaying condition of the rock made me propose to the Government to have a new and careful cast prepared. With the help of that and after a further study on the rock, I hope to fill up many of the remaining lacunæ in this record.

Philologically the record, but for a few exceptions, entirely corresponds to the canonical Pali. This fact proves the early age of the canonical language of Ceylon. The three instances of the words ending in *num* (line 15) are probably an early trace of Jain Prakritism. The occurrence of Vedic terms (*bilma*, *abhisamaya*, *magha*, etc.) is proof of their being still in common use.

It was formerly considered that no conjunct letters occur in this inscription. This is now proved to be erroneous. Owing to the former view, the unsuspected conjunct letters gave a lot of trouble in decipherment. Letters *ñ*, *ḍh* and *ṣ* have been found which had not been recognized before. An important system has been noticed in writing : omitted letters are inscribed below the line and the omission is indicated by a caret-mark which the manuscript-writers call *kāka-pāda*. *Anusvāra* is at times inscribed on the left side of the letter as in the Jaugarh inscription of Aśoka. There is probably a case of mistake in engraving (*yovend* instead of *yovand*, l. 2). Another probable mistake is in line 16 (l-stroke in *vockhimnem*.)

The faint letters are sometimes very illusive. But if the chisel-mark is felt and traced by finger, right conclusion is secured. I am glad to say here that the rock does not seem to have appreciably decayed since the time of Prinsep. Just below the writing the roof of the rock has very much decayed; the inscribed portion seems to have decayed least. There are holes constructed on the top of the first line which seem to show that some effort at preservation was probably made in ancient days by attaching a cover to the inscription.

The inscription when filled in with ink could be read from the floor which evidently retains its original level. The cave was cut very likely to serve the purpose of an assembly

hall (see below). A Sanskrit rendering, adhering to the text as much as possible, is given below along with the text. This would be found useful by those who are not familiar with Pali words and constructions. It also shows the value I give to each expression.

The corrections and the notes are to be read with reference to the text and discussion already published in this Journal (III. 425). They are put in a form which is supplementary to the main articles already published. The figures in brackets indicate the pages of my articles in volume III of this Journal on the Hathigumpha inscription. In the revision below where no translation is given it is to be assumed that the correction does not change the meaning and the old translation stands.

To verify corrections reference should be made to plate I published in volume III (473). Fresh impressions of two passages only which contain additional words are printed herewith. Taking impression of this inscription is very difficult, and I fully realized it only when I had a few slips reproduced. Great credit is due to Mr. Banerji for preparing the impression which was published in this Journal referred to above.

Corrections and Additions to the Text.

LINE 1.

Read—

For—

(a) vadhanena

vadhnenā (453)

(b) gunopahitena

gunopagatena

(b) The meaning is not materially changed. With the preceding word, which is definitely *thuṇa*, it means:

“in whom is deposited the quality of being the support of the whole land” (see 461).

There is space before *Siri Khāra-velena*. Owing to abrasions the space is not easily noticeable in the fac-simile (facing III., 472). As already explained (III., 478) space is left in the inscription before important proper names.*

LINE 2.

Read—

For—

(a) kaḍāra

kāḍāra

(b) rūpa-gaṇanā

rūpa-gaṇanā †

(c) vavahāra

vevahāra

(d) sampuṇa-chatuvisati-
vaso tadāni vadhamāna-
sesa-yove(=a)nābhivi-
jayo.

sampuṇo chatu-bisati-
vaso ti dāna-chu-dhamena-
sesa-y o v a n ā b h i j a y o
(454-455)

(c) The mark like *e*-stroke in the impression (see plate III., 472) is the result of abrasion.

(d) *tadāni* = Skt. *talānīm*, ‘then’. Compare it with *cha’dāni* in line 6.

yovan’ appears like *yoven*’.

The translation of the sentence now will be:—

‘having completed the twenty-fourth year, he, then, who for the rest of his manhood made ever-increasing victories.’ ‡

*Correct misprint in *Kaṭiṅgaddhipatinī* (III, 453) where the accent on *a* after *g* is dropped.

† Misprinted (III, 453) as *gaṇaṇā*.

‡ Instead of “as the twenty-fourth year was complete, he, who for the rest of his manhood made conquests which were accompanied with gifts and observance of *dharma*” (III, 461).

LINE 3.

Read—

For—

(a) Kalinga-rāja-vamse	Kalinga-rāja-vase
(b) Mahārājābhise chanam	Mahārājābhisechanam
(c) Kalinga-nagari'	Kalinga-nagaram
khi-bīram-isi-tālam ta-	khibira sitala-tadāga-pā-
dāga-pāḍiyo cha	ḍiyo * cha
(d) pati-samthapanam	pati-samthāpanam

(c) There is a stop after *paṭisamākhārayati*, 'he repairs', that is, the reference to 'he repairs' is finished. Hence the following *Kalinga-Nagari* is to be taken as disconnected from the preceding sentence. It should be marked that the form is *Kalinga-Nagari*, not *Kalinga-Nagara*, which makes the proposal to identify the 'Capital of Kalinga' of Khāra-vela with the Seventh Century *Kālinga-Nagara* still more unacceptable (see III, 440-41.)

'*Kalinga-Nagari*' in the text runs on with '*khi-bīram*. *Kha* or *khi* is placed so close to *ri* (of *nagari*) that a sandhi between two words is to be inferred. The elided vowel in that case would belong to the word of which *khi* is part, as *r* has got its *i*. Then again *bīram* is separately grouped, hence '*khi* or '*kha* is remnant of a word which was composed of it and a preceding letter. The only possible word in these circumstances, which will suit the context can be *ukha* (or *ukhi*). *Ukha* means 'sprinkling' (ved. *uksha*) and *ukhi* would denote 'a thing sprinkling.' '*Bīra*' (= *billa*), 'the water-receptacle round a standing tree', would mean a tank round the *ukhi* or 'the sprinkling' pole or other agent. The sprinkling tank was evidently an artificial fountain. The next *isi-tālam* (*isi-tallam*) was something similar. *Isi* is perfectly clear on the rock†, it is to be taken as qualifying *tālam* (Skt. *tallam*, a small reservoir). *Ish* means to 'stream out,' 'pour out,' 'let fly,' in later Vedic literature.‡ [On

* Misprinted as *paḍiyo* (p. 454).

† Cunningham also read it.

‡ See Monier-Williams' Dictionary.

artificial fountains of. Kalidasa's *Raghuvamśa*, XVI. 49. The *uttāna-loṇāśayam* in the *Artha-Sāstra*, p. 49, very probably means a fountain.]

The sentence as now corrected* will be rendered as follows :—

‘He causes to be strengthened the Sprinkling Fountain-Reservoir of the Kaliṅga capital, and the Streaming-out Reservoir and the embankments of the lake (or lakes)’.

LINE 4.

Read—

- (a) Panatisāhi
- (b) pakātiyo
- (c) Dutiye cha
- (e) achitayitā Sātakaniṃ
- (f) pathāpayati
- (g) Kañha-benāṃ gatāya
cha senāya vitāp [a] t
[i] †

For—

- Panātisāhi
- pakātiyo
- Ditiye cha
- achimtayitā Sātakani[m]
- pathāpayati
- Kasapāna[m] Khatiyam cha
sahāye vitopati

(g) This portion had not been satisfactorily read before. The rock gives clearly this text. The first word is a proper name of a river well known to Puranic geography: *Kṛishṇa-venā*. The second member is differently spelt in the Purāṇas, as *veṇṇā*, *Veṇi*, *raiṇi venyā*, etc. The Purāṇas place this river near the Godāvari and treat it as distinct from the Southern *Kṛishṇā*. The *Kṛishṇa-venā* is mentioned in some authorities as if it were two rivers *Kṛishṇā* and *Veṇā*.‡ *Mārkaṇḍeya* derives it from the Vindhya range §. It is evident from these details that the river is identical with the modern “*Wain River*” or “*Wain-gangā*” which has for its main tributary

* Kalinga-nagari- 'khi-bīram-īal-tālam tadāga-pāḍiyo cha bamdhāpayati.

† It may be *ottāpitam*. The meaning in either case will be the same.

‡ *Vāyu*, 45-103.

§ गोदावरी भोमरवा कच्छावेयवा तथापरा ।

विन्ध्यापारविबिन्ध्यात्ता इत्येता वरिदुत्तमा : ॥ *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57.36-37.

The *Vāyu* (45-103) describes the very river-as coming out of the Vindhya.

the *Kanhan*. The Kanhan and the Wain unite in the district of Bhandara and the united stream comes down to meet the Wardha in the district of Chanda. It seems that the united name "Kṛishṇā-Veṇā" or "*Kaṣha-benā*" denoted the united stream which flows in those two districts. The capital of the Mūshikas, which our inscription contemplates to be on the Kaṣha-benā, was situated somewhere within the districts of Bhandara and Chanda in the Central Provinces. *

The translation of the passage will be :

"the army having reached the Kṛishṇa-veṇā, he causes the Mūshika capital to be heated by it" (*i.e.*, burns fire around to reduce the town to submission). †

LINE 5.

Read—

For—

(a) Gaṃdhava

Gaṃdhavā

(b) Tathā cha [i?] vuthe

Itha chivuthe

(more probably chavuthe)

(c) K a l i m g a-puva-rāja

Kalinga-puva-rāja

[nivesitaṃ].....

(namamsitaṃ).....

(d) saṃdamsanāhi

saṃdasanāhi

(e) Makūṭ[e] sa-bilam'dhite

Makuṭe sabi.chhidate

(f) nikhita-

nikhite

(b) The mark which appears like *i*-stroke to *cha* is very probably produced by corrosion.

(c) *Namamsitaṃ* was Bhagwan Lal Indraji's and Lüder's reading, † while my impression showed none of the letters. The rock still retains traces of *nivesitaṃ*, § which shows that the building referred to, the "Vidyādhara-Abode", had been built by the former kings of Kalinga. || It was probably a palace, 'the Vidyādhara Palace.'

* My former view about the situation of the Mūshika capital (III. 442) is now borne out by the discovery of the text about the Kaṣha-benā.

† It is needless to say that it cancels the former translation (III. 462) 'and in aid of the Kātyapa Kshatriyas (he) destroys the Mūshika capital.'

‡ E I, x, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 161: 'honoured by the former kings of Kalinga.'

§ Cf. Prinsep, "*Rajani vasati*."

|| Against the previous translation, 'held sacred by the former kings of Kalinga.'

(c) *Bilama'ḍhite*.—The reading and solution of this expression took a little time. *Bilama* is fairly clear and it can be read in the facsimile. The next letter appeared like *ji*, but on a close examination it turned out to be *ḍhi*. The peculiarity about this letter is that on the left side it is angular at both ends and tends to be so at the upward turn on the right. *Bilama* is neither known to classical Sanskrit nor Pali. It is a Vedic term which fully suits the context.* *Bilma* was a 'helmet'; *bilama'ḍhite* (*sa-bilma + arihite*), 'with helmets cut in twain' is another adjective like *vitadha-makute*, 'with coronets rendered meaningless'.

The *Anusvāra*-mark on *ri* in *Nagarim* in this line is to the left instead of to the right. Other instances are noted below.

LINE 6.

Read—

- (a) hita-ratana-sāpateye
- (b) Sava-Rāṭhika-
- (c) tivasa-sata-oghāṭitam
- (d) Sopi [vase] chhadam
[a]' bhisito cha rāja-
suyam samdasayanto
sava-kara-vaṇam

For—

- hit-ratanasā pateye
- Sāva-Rāṭhika-
- ti-vasa-sata [m?]-oghāṭitam
- s[o?]- vi. bhisito cha (rāja-
seya-samdam) samto siva-
bharāvaṇa[m]

(a) Grammatically '*pateye*' as a direct form of *pati* ('leader') was impossible, hence the new grouping. The transfer of letter *sa*, which makes the sentence now grammatically perfect, is justified by the grouping of the letters on the rock. The phrase, like the preceding phrases, qualifies 'all the Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojakas', and means:—

'deprived of their precious things (*ratnas*) and riches.' † *Sāpateyyo*, 'riches', is a regular Pali word; the Sanskrit form *svāpateya* occurs in the *Mahā-Bhārata* and other works.

(c) Lüders is wrong in his rendering of *oghāṭitam* 'the aqueduct that had not been used (since king Nanda)' (See his L.B.I., p. 161). *Oghāṭita* is the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit

* *White Yajurveda*, XVI. 35,

वस विस्मिन्ने च कर्षणिने च०

† Instead of "the Leaders, deprived of their *ratnas*" (468).

avaghattita.* *Avaghatta* means 'a hole in the ground', 'cave' (Apte), and the verb, *avaghatt*, 'to cut asunder'. The meaning given to it in this Journal (III. 463), 'excavated', seems to be the most satisfactory. Nor is it possible to take it as 'destroyed by King Nanda,' for in that case Khāra-vela would 'repair' the aqueduct and not 'extend' it into the capital as stated in the inscription.

Lüders would make *ti-vas-sata* mean '103'! This would be opposed to the system of this record. According to Lüders' interpretation, its, for instance, *sata-sahasā* would be reduced from 100,000 to 1,100 which nobody would accept.

(d) The meaning of the sentence on account of its former imperfect reading could not be satisfactorily made out. With the lacunæ now filled up it becomes simple:

"And as such (i.e., victorious, as related in the preceding sentence), in the sixth year, he, consecrated for and showing *rāja-sūya* remits † all Government taxes (lit. tax money) "‡

The *abhisheka* (consecration) here referred to was the *abhisheka* to the imperial *rājasūya* sacrifice.

The Anusvāra-mark on *ḍi* in *panḍim* in this line is on the left side.

LINE 7.

Read—

For—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (a) Satamaṃ cha vaṣaṃ paśāsato | Satamaṃ cha vaṣaṃ paśāsato |
| Vajira-ghara-vi Dhisi ti | cha [ja ra gha ra kha ta ??] |
| gharini sa-matuka-pada- | gharin[i] savitu upāda- |
| pun[ā] sa-kumārā..... | pum (na ?) sa..... (p. 456). |
| (b) Athame cha vase mahati- | Athame cha vase (manatim?) |
| senāya mahata-[bhitti-] | (dha ma ni ??) |
| Goradha-girim | Goradha-giri |

(a) The record of the seventh year is now for the first time read. It is complete but for some five or six letters at the end

* (Cf. Kāchchāyana's rule on the change of *ava* into *o*, 'O *avasa*, (I. 5. 9).

† *visajati* in the next line is to be taken in its double import, 'remits' (in line 6) and 'bestows' (in line 7), sec. III, 463.

‡ Instead of '(in the sixth year) anointed showing royal favour to all the suffering ones' (III, 463).

which would contain the verb. The reading up to ~~pura~~ is certain. The sense is clear. It refers to the birth of the Crown Prince. The Queen, who is related to have attained 'motherhood', is called *Dhisi* (Skt. *Dhṛiṣṭi*). Space is left before the word to indicate that it is important. Her name appears again in line 15 (see below). She is described as being of the house (family) of *Vajira* (*Vajra*). '*Vajira-house*' seems to refer to her original home; *vajira* in that case may be identical with *Bazira* of Alexander, on the other side of the Indus (Arrian, IV. 27). In line 15 she is called the *Simha-pritha* =-prastha) Queen. *Prastha* standing for *pura*, 'town', it is interesting to note that *Simha-pura*, a capital, is found in the *Mahā-Bhārata* exactly where *Bazira* of Alexander was situated, viz., in the neighbourhood of Kashmir and *Abhisāra* (M.Bh. *Sabhā*, XVII-20). The sentence means:

"Ruling in the seventh year, his wife (*lit.* 'the mistress of the house') named *Dhisi* (*Dhṛiṣṭi*), of the house of *Vajira* (*Vajra*), having fulfilled the noble dignity of motherhood, having prince....."

(b) This sentence like the last one had been unread. It deals with the events which open the eighth regnal year. It refers to a great invasion on Magadha by the mighty *Khāra-vela*. With the first letter of the next line *ghātāpayitā* it means:—

"In the eighth year, he (*Khāra-vela*) having got stormed the *Gorathagiri* (fortress) of great enclosure (*lit.* 'wall' 'barrier') by a great army."

LINE 8.

Read—

ghātāpayitā [.] *Raja-gaham*
upa-pidāpayati [.] *etina cha*
kamma'padāna-panādēna
sambhita-sena-vahinim vipamāna
-chitum Madhurām apayāto yeva
marid[e] [nāma].....[me ?]
[yachhati] vichha.
palava-bhar[e].

For—

ghātāpayitā *Raja-gaha-Napam*
pidāpayati *etinaam cha kamupa-*
dāna panādēna sabata sena-va-
haae vipamamohitam Madhu-
ram apayāto [.] Navame
[cha] Bā. [vase] Bā.....
(ma ya ebha. ti ??).....
.....palavariko

ghātāpayitā :—Before the discovery that Goradhagiri itself was the object of *ghātāpayitā*, I gave it its primary meaning 'having got killed' (p. 463). Now it is plain that its other, the military, significance which is fully known to Pali literature, is to be accepted, 'sacking,' cf. *dīpaghātakā damilā*, see Childers, *sub* 'ghātako'. There is a stop after *ghātāpayitā*.

The reading upto *veva narida* is certain. The former reading *napa* ('king'), accepted by every one after Bhagwan Lal Indraji, is without doubt a mistake. The rock has *upa*, deeply incised, in perfect preservation. Cunningham was correct here. I very particularly examined the whole line owing to its historical reference. My regret is that I had not sufficient time to devote to the portion after *narida*. I have to be contented this time with the certainty obtained with regard to the preceding portion, which I may confidently submit as final.

The following translation is to be read along with the previous portion of the record of the eighth year as given above :—

"causes pressure around Rājagriha (lays siege to Rājagriha). On account of this report of the acts of valour, (i.e., the capture of Goradhagiri, etc.), the King [so-called] to forsake the invested division of his army, went away to Mathurā indeed,....."

Apadāna is equal to Skt. *avadāna. sambhita* (= *samvita*) means 'invested,' 'hemmed in,' both in Pali and Sanskrit. This word shows that *upapīḍāpayati* is to be taken as 'causes (Rājagriha) to be besieged.' The force of sarcasm conveyed by *narido nāma* is not fully brought out by 'the king so-called.' *Narida* (= *Narendra*) which is a synonym for 'king', literally signifies 'the Indra amongst men' (the human Indra), the fighting human leader as Indra is amongst gods. The king, whose duty it was to face the enemy, fled away indeed to Mathurā. Cf. *apayāto yeva* with *palayati yeva* (Dhammapada).

Yakkheti ('he gives') governs *palava-bhara* (*Kalparukhe*, end of line 8 and beginning of line 9).

* The former translation of the line (p. 463) is cancelled.

The record of "the ninth year" evidently begins with or near about *yachhati*. Thus about twelve or ten more letters have to be read to complete the history of the eighth year which is the history of the invasion of Magadha.

LINE 9.

Read—

(a) Kalpa-rukḥ[e]

(b) saha-yamte

(c) sava-gharāvāsa-parivasana

sa-agināṭhiye [;]

(d) Bamanānam jāti-

pantim parihāram dadāti

For—

Kapa-rukho

saha-yate

sava-gharāvāsādham.....

ne.....ya

Bamanānam jātharam bhi pa-

ram dadāti

(a) The *l* in *kalpa* is joined on to the top of *pa*. The process is similarly repeated in *kalpaṃ* in line 14.

(c) The passage means :—

'to all (i.e., the donees of kalpa-tree, etc.) (he gives, *yachhati*, line 8) houses, residences, and buildings for common use, with fire-altars.'

There are three classes of buildings mentioned here, out of which the sense of one is fully known : *ghara*, 'family dwelling-house'. But the difference between that and *āvāsa* I have not succeeded in finding out. The last one, *pari-vasana*, very likely has a collective significance. Probably it refers to such buildings as were meant for collective use of Brahmins, e.g., a hall like one mentioned in Yājñavalkya, II. 185.

(d) This has no allusion to a feast as I supposed on the incorrect reading in my former note (p. 463). It means :—

"(to make all those gifts accepted), he gives lands to the caste association (*pañkti*) of Brahmins."

The system of collective grants of land to Brahmins came down to the last days of Hindu rule in Orissa. Professor Kashi Nath Das of the Cuttack College, who is a Brahmin of Orissa, informs me that these collective tenures still survive in his province.

LINE 10.

Read—

For—

(a) ...[ke] [f] [mā]nehi
rā[ja]-samnivāsam Mahā-
vijayam

ubhaya-Prāchī-tate rā[ja]
nivāsam mahāvijaya-

* (b) Dasame cha vase maha- Dasame cha vase da[m]ḍasa
dhīta'bhisamayo Bharadha-nadasa Bharadha-vasa
vasa-pathānam mahi-jaya- pathāna kārāpayati.
nam ... ti kārāpayati.

(c) —[niritaya?] uyātānam —puna cha manoradhāni upala
maṇi-ratanā[ni] upala- bhatā (p. 457).
bhat [e].

(a) The beginning of the line has suffered on account of a large chip having gone off the rock clean, taking away the writing from the lower half of the first 12 letters of this line down to the last line. The chipping-off is straight up to line 13; from line 14 it tends to cut more letters in each line in a way that while the loss in line 13 would be by 10 or 12 letters it would be by about 17 in the last. The former reading (*ubhaya-Prāchī-tate*) was the result, on the impression, of this mutilation plus abrasion—the *te* of the supposed *tate*, for instance, is really the remaining half of *ja* of *rāja*; the supposed *ya* proved to be the upper half of *ma*, and the mistaken *bha* is the top of a *va*, *cha* or some other letter with an *i*-stroke!

The Māhā-vijaya Palace is called a *sam-nivāsa* which denotes that the palace contained a series of buildings (*rāja-samnivāsa*, 'group of royal residences').

(b) The sentence before *kārāpayati* is now wholly read but for three letters. I hope to fill up this small lacuna at a future date. The gap after *kārāpayati* represents space for about 16 letters, part of which also, it is hoped, will be read.

Abhisamaya is again a Vedic term, meaning, 'invasion'; *dhīta* (Śkt. *dhṛita*), 'solemnly undertaken,' + *abhisamayo*, 'one who has solemnly undertaken invasion,' shows that *mata* is to be taken

* Correct misprint in *aṭṭhisāya* - (p. 456) by removing the hyphen.

in the Vedic sense, 'sacrifice', and that the whole sentence is to be rendered thus :—

'he having by sacred rites undertaken war, causes.....
departure for Northern India (Śācāta-Vareha) to
conquer the land.'

On the present materials it is not clear whether the sentence refers to his own departure or that of his army only.

(e) *vyātānam* = *udyātānām*, 'of those who have been invaded upon'*. The sentence, imperfect as it stands, means :

'free from calamity (?) he obtains the jewels
and precious things of those who have been invaded upon.'

LINE 11.

Read—

For—

(a)—*maṇḍe oha puva-* —*ya puvarāja nivesitaṃ*
rāja-nivesita-Pithudaga-da[la]bha Pithudaga-dabha-nagale
-naṃgale

(b) *titamara*

titāmara

(c) *vitāsayati*

vitāsayaṃto

utarāpatha-rājāno

utarāpadha-rājāno

(a) The new text *maṇḍe* and the discovery of *la* in *dalabha* give an entirely new meaning to *pithudaga*, etc., which on its former defective reading had been accepted as a proper name of a town. The *la* which had been omitted by the engraver, was inscribed by him under *da* and *bha* in such a way that it is read between the two letters. A further precaution is taken by the engraver in putting a mark of omission on the line in the place of omission. It is just like what the manuscript-writers in India call a *kāku-pāda* ("crow's foot"), with a perpendicular line placed on a tiny horizontal dash. This process is once more resorted to in adding *yā* in *yāpa-khima* in line 14 (see below). † Both these additions and the *kāku-pāda* marks are discernible in the plate published *ante*, Volume III, facing p. 472. *Dalabha* (= Skt. *dalbha*) means a "wheel" and *naṃgala* is a Pali equivalent of *lāṅgala*, 'timber.' *uḍaga* stands for Skt. *uḍagra*, 'tall', 'high'. The whole phrase

* cf. *Uḍyata* in Amara, I. 3, 89.

† For the use of the *kāku-pāda* in another inscription, see below the Bodhgayā coping stone inscription.

qualifies the preceding *maṇḍa*, which in the *Lalitā-vistara* means a covered seat (page 476, also chapter XIX). Evidently it stands there for *maṇḍapa*. The *maṇḍa*, or the covered seat, "built by the previous king (or 'kings'), of thick and high wheels and timbers" was the precursor of the present-day, huge temple-car, of Orissa. It was used for leading in procession the *saṃghāta* or statue of Ketu-bhadra. The verb (ni-kṛish, 'to draw', 'to pull') employed in the sentence for leading in procession, is really the same which is used to-day to express the 'drawing' of the procession car. The Jains in Upper India, when they take out their Tirthankaras in procession, either on shoulders of men or on cars, still use the same verb (*nikāś, niṭāl*). It was originally employed in connexion with car-processions.

In view of Lüders' opinion that the king 'had some place founded by former kings, perhaps Pithudaga, ploughed with a plough' (L.B.I, p. 161), I minutely scrutinized this passage on the rock and its grouping of letters. As if anticipating the confusion in which Lüders has fallen, the writer (or the writer-engraver) left no room for controversy by leaving distinct space between *namgale* and *nekūsayatī*, dividing them into two words. If this precaution had not been adopted, one could have alternatively read *namgalena kāsuyatī*, 'ploughs with a plough'. Fortunately that possibility is negatived by the rock.*

The translation of the whole sentence would be in these words :—

"(In the eleventh year) he has led out in procession, on the covered seat made by the previous king, of thick and high wheels and timbers, the object of national reputation (or devotion), that immortal statue, in *tikṭa* (*Nīm*) wood, of Ketu Bhadra, who flourished thirteen centuries (back) "

*Even if there had been no space the misreading could have been detected owing to the absurdities it leads an interpreter into. 'Ploughing' must be with a plough and the latter would be needlessly mentioned; then *saṃghāta*, the object would have been left without a verb to govern it, or if it was that which was ploughed then the king 'ploughed' an idol of the nation (*jana-pada-bhāraṇap*), the object of national attachment or national reputation.

The rule of Pāṇini, *mūrtau ghanah*, III, 3, 77, is a further confirmation of the view that *sāṃghāta* means a statue. After giving the general rule (III, 3, 76) that *han*, 'to strike,' is transformed into *badha*, Pāṇini says (III, 3, 77) that where 'image' is meant the same suffix would produce *ghana* (instead of *badha*), that is, *gha*-form (*ghatva*) obtains in the sense of 'image' (*mūrti*): that from *han* with *ghatva-ādesa* we would get words for an image or statue. This is exactly the case in *sāṃghāta*.

(b) *Tiktamara* would be taken together (statue of *tiktamāra* wood'), if there was a tree *tikta-amara* (cf. *tiktāmṛta*).

Bhāvana = reputation, consideration (Pali).

It is evident that the opening portion of the line contained the text giving 'In the eleventh year,' which would have covered space for some eight letters. The lost letters thus would be only about two. But for them the whole sentence is now recovered and explained.

(e) There would be a slight change in meaning: instead of 'causing consternation' (464), we should read 'he causes consternation'.

LINE 12.

Read—

For—

- | | |
|---|---|
| (a) hathisu Gaṃgāya
pāyayati | bath(i)sa Gaṃgiya
prāyayati |
| (b) māgadham cha Rājānaṃ
Bahasati-mit[r?]aṃ | Magadhā cha Rājāna(m)
Bahapatimitraṃ |
| (c) Namda-rāja-nītaṃ cha
Kālimga-Jina-saṃnivesaṃ | Namda-rāja-nītāni Aga-Jinaṣa |
| (d) Aṃga-Māgadha-vasuṃ cha
neyāti | Aṃga-Magadha-vasaṃ
neyāt(i) |

(a) The mark on the top of *gā* in *Gaṃgāta* in the impression is deceptive. It is no part of the letter. The passage now means: "he effects the crossing of the Ganges on (his) elephants"

The army crossed the Ganges from the northern side to Patna, putting the elephants to the use of military pontoons, a use noticed by political writers of Hindu times. Compare:

सुखेन यावमात्मरक्षा परपुरासर्दनं परबूहविचालो जलेशु
 सेतुबन्धो वर्चनादन्यत्र सर्वविनोदहेतवश्चेति हस्तिगुप्ताः ॥

Somadeva, 22.

setu-bandha 'bridging across' indicates that elephants were trained to remain steady in rivers and allow soldiers to walk over.

(b) The rock decided that the name is spelt as *B a h a s a t i* not *B a h a p a t i*. Mr. Panday kindly took for me a cast of the letters on plaster of Paris, which has been now presented to the Patna Museum. The rock shows that the supposed *u*-mark to *ha* is no part of the letter. The letter which Mr. Banerji and I had taken to be a *pa* is really a blurred *sa*.

(c) That an impression after all is a poor substitute for the original is once more proved by the history of the reading of the passage *Kālinga-Jina*. The lower portion of *kā* was not visible in the impression, with the consequence that the upper part naturally presented a clear *na* (and with abrasion marks, a *ni*!). The next letter (*li*) had not been even remotely detected (Cunningham reading in its place a *ma*, while Bhagwan Lal Indrajī, Banerji and myself, an *a*!). On the rock, on the other hand, it cannot be easily mistaken. I publish herewith a fresh impression of the passage. The impression had the further advantage of reproducing the letters next following *Kālinga-Jina*. They give the much needed information as to what it was of "the Jina of Kalinga" that had been carried away by King Nanda from Orissa to Magadha, which, now 300 years later, Khāra-vela triumphantly brought back to his capital along with the riches of Aṅga and Maghdha. It was the Jina's *samnvīcam** which means a "form", 'figure', 'appearance' (see Monier-Williams). The recovered trophy was thus a representation, an image, of the Trithaṅkara, called here the 'Kalingan Jina'. As to the 'Kalingan Jina' the question arises: what is meant by the expression? Does it mean that the particular Jina was associated with Kalinga, and if so, which was he out of the twenty-four Jinas or Tirthaṅ-

* The last *sa* has not come out well in the facsimile; it is much clearer in the impression.

kāras? Pārśvanātha is related to have preached to the people of Tamralipti, and I was inclined to connect him with the 'Kālinga Jina' of Khāravela. But a new aspect is put on the question by what a learned Jain ascetic has to say on the subject. Muni Jinavijaya (at present at Poona) who has often obliged me by his valued opinion on subjects of our common study, says that it is a practice, still prevalent, to designate the image of a particular Tirthankara after the name of the locality of the establishment. The First Tirthankara (Rishabha-deva) at Śatruñjaya, for instance, is called 'the Śatruñjaya Jina;' similarly the image at Abu is called 'the Arbuda Jina,' and the one at Dhulew (Mewar) is called the Dhulew Jina.

In view of this practice it is not necessary that the Kālinga Jina must have been a Jina associated with Kalinga in his life^o history. The expression may denote merely the Jina image which was worshipped in Kalinga or at the Kalingan capital. One of the cave-buildings—the Ananta guhā—which bears a mutilated Brāhmī inscription belonging to the period of or before Khāravela, is to be taken as dedicated to Pārśvanātha, for it is distinguished by his conventional symbol serpents at the door. But at the same time another rock-cut building of the same period, the Jaya-Vijaya, has the Bodhi-tree of the Mahāvira, the *Vaṭa* tree, which is being worshipped in the sculpture.* *Simha* or lion is the symbol of the last prophet. It appears on the Jaina stupa of the Mahāvira at Mathura. The Jaya-Vijaya has also got the lion. This symbol is found even on the doorway arches of the Anantaguhā itself which, as I have said above, bears also serpents, beautifully carved. The cave was thus most probably dedicated jointly to the last two Tirthankaras. Prominence of the lion on the Jaya-Vijaya and Anantaguhā and on the columns of several buildings (see collection in Plate XXIV, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II) would, in my opinion, indicate that the hill was sacred mainly to the memory of the last Tirthankara.

*This has been pointed out by my revered friend Muni Jinavijaya in his Gujarati book *Prācīna Jaina Lekha-Saṅgraha*, I.

LINE 13.

Read—

For—

- (a) —ta jāṭhara-likhila-barā— —ta jāṭhara-lekhilā (i) barāni
 ni sihirāni nivesayati[†] sihārāni nivesayati
 (b) sata-visikanam parhā- sata-vasu-[dāna]-[pa]rihārena*
 rena [m ?]
 (c) Abhutamachhariyam Abhūtamach[chh]ariyam
 (d) hathi-nāvana † paripu- hathināvana parihāram dena
 ram upadeṇha
 (e) haya-hathī-ratanā[-mā] haya-hathī-ratana [janāna ?]
 nikam

Pamda-rājā edāni anekāni Pāṇḍarāja [cha]
 mutamapi-ratanāni aharā- māpi ratanāni aharāpayati idha
 payati idha sata[sa ?] [.] sata[sa]

(b) *Sata-visikanam parihārena* with passage (a), should be translated as follows :—

“He buildsexcellent towers with carved interior, by making land-grants to hundred artists.”

Siharāni (Skt. *Śikharāni*) I have translated by ‘towers’. Most probably *sikhara* denoted a particular style of building.

Visikanam: this word may be compared with the *āvesanī* of inscriptions, which has been translated as ‘foreman of artisans’, and with *vesika* (‘art’), of the *Lalitavistara*. *visika* (= Skt. *vaisika*) would mean an artist. The *visikas* referred to here are evidently the chief artists who carved the *sikharas*.

(c) to (e) *Abhuta* stands for *adbhuta*, ‘wonderful’ (not *abhūta*, ‘unprecedented’).

With the lacunæ now filled up the sentence would be thus translated:

“And, he causes to be brought here, from the Pāṇḍya King tribute presents (upadeṇha), being the wonderful and marvellous cargo [lit. ‘fill’] of elephant-ships : choice horses and choice elephants and rubies, as well as numerous jewel pearls”.

*Misprinted as *parihārena* [ap].

†There is a hole in the rock after *hathī* and another one after *naṇa*; the engraver has avoided them.

LINE 14

Read—

For—

(a) —sino vasī karoti —[vā] sino vasī kareti

(b) Terasame cha vase su- Terasamei cha vase supavata
 pavata-vijayi-chake Ku- vijaya-chako Kumāri pavate
 māri-pavate arahite Arahato-par[i]n[i]v[ā]se ta-
 y[ā]pa*-kh[i]ma-vy- hikāya Nisidiyāya yā pūja-
 asamtāhi kāyya-nisi- vakehi rāja-bhitāni cha
 diyāya Yāpa-ñāvakehi navatāni vusa-satāni puṇāni
 rāja-bhitini china- [sa ba ta?] [sa ? dha ?] ra
 vatāni vosāsītāni [;] va [si ? ri ? ko ?] Jiva-deva-
 pūṇāni kata-uvāsā kāle rākhitā.
 Khāravela-sirinā Ji-
 vadeva-[siri]-k a l p a m
 rākhitā [.]

(a) As *va* is not to be read before *vasī-karoti*, slight alteration in translation (p. 465) becomes necessary. The rendering would be

“he wins (the affection ?) of.....

(b) The whole construction and meaning of the opening phrase is changed by the reading of *chake* (instead of *chako*). It refers to the Kumāri Hill, and not to the king, and so does *arahite*. The sentence now completed and corrected, becomes not only grammatically consistent, but also, as we shall presently see, gives information of highest importance to the history of Jainism.

Yāpa-ñāvakas :—The third letter which appears like a *ja* on the impression is unmistakably *ñ*, on the rock. *Yāpa-ñāvakehi* is grouped together in the original writing as one word, being separated from *nisidiyāya*. *Yāpa-ñāvakas* (Skt. *yāpa-jñāpakas*) ‘the teachers of *yāpa*,’ cannot be identified without reference to the history of Jainism. The *Bhadrabāhu-charita*† in giving the history of Jainism immediately after the teacher *Bhadrabāhu*, a contemporary of Chandragupta, says that amongst the numerous

* *Yā* is below the line between *ts* and *pa*.

† I thank the Secretary of the Jain Library, Arrah, for a loan of the manuscript of this work.

disciples of Bhadrabāhu who worshipped the bones of their master a school called *Yāpana-saṅgha* arose and that they finally decided to remain without clothes. The *Yāpana-saṅgha* flourished in the south as they prominently appear in Carnatic inscriptions. They are now extinct. Muni Jīna-vijaya is of opinion that some tenets of theirs bore affinity to the Digambara school and some to the Śvetāmbara. In view of this opinion the Yāpana school marked the stage before the great schism. Our inscription shows that *yāpa* which gave the name to the school consisted of certain pious practices. If we take it in the sense it is used in Charaka, 'mitigating' pain,' or as in the Mahā Bhārata, 'supporting life,' the 'yāpa teachers' emphasized the duty of alleviating physical misery of others. These teachers of Yāpa (or Yāpa school) are described as actively engaged in *yāpa* and *kṣhema* (*kṣhima*) i.e. practices of *yāpa* * and welfare.

The professors of *yāpa* were at the *Kāyya-Nishīdī* on the 'revered (arahite) Kumārī Hill.' That his *Nishīdī* was a Nishīdī of the Arhat is proved by the next line. In this volume of the Journal (IV, 96) I drew attention to the technical meaning of the Jain *Nishīdī* 'resting place,' a 'tomb.' The Nishīdī at the Kumārī Hill (the Hill where the inscription is engraved) was not an ornamental tomb but a real stūpa, for it is qualified by *kāyya*, corporeal (i.e., 'having remains of the body'). Thus it seems that the Jains called their stūpas or chaityas *Nishīdīs*. The Jain stupa discovered at Mathurā and the datum of the *Bhadra-bāhu-charita* saying that the disciples of Bhadrabāhu worshipped the bones of their Master, establish the fact that the Jains (at any rate the Digambaras) observed the practice of erecting monuments on the remains of their teachers. It should be noted that this was in fact a national custom, not merely confined to the Buddhists and Jains, as attested by the

* The *ya* of *yāpa* is added below the line and the omission is indicated by a *kākapāda* just above the line. On the use of *kākapāda* the Bodhi Gayā inscription published below should be consulted.

Girhya-sutras.* The site of the Nishidi is to be discussed below in connection with the next line.

china-vatāni is probably to be read as *china-vratāni* on account of a probable stroke below *va*. It qualifies *Rāja-bhīṭini*, 'state allowances'. Its Sanskrit equivalent is *chīrṇa-vratāni*, 'completed-vow'. *Jīva-Deva-Siri* was evidently one of the former kings of Kalinga, noted for his patronage of Jainism.

The translation of the whole sentence is as follows :—

"Again, in the thirteenth year, state maintenances, to be given on completion of vow, are decreed (by Khāravela) to the *yāpa* professors who are actively engaged in *yāpa* and *kṣema* practices at the Depository of the Body-remains on the revered Kumāri Hill, where the Wheel of the Conqueror (=Jina) is fully established. Worship and acts of lay observance are kept by Śrī Khāravela after the manner of Śrī Jivā-Deva."

'The Wheel of the Conqueror' suggests that amongst the Jains also *chakra* symbolised the spread or conquest of religion. This is confirmed by the representation of the Wheel found at the Jain Stūpa of Mathura.

LINE 15.

Read—

For—

(s) — su kataṃ samana-suvihitā

-n[a]m† cha sāta-diśān[a]m

fiātānam tapasa-isinam sam-

ghāyan[a]m[.]

(ḥ) pabbhāre varākara-saunu-

thapitāhi aneka-yojanāhi-

tāhi.....silāhi Sipa-

patha-Rāñiya Dhusiya nisayāni

— sukata-samana-suvihi-

tānam cha sata-diśānam

khatiyam tapasa.....(saha?)

[or, samgha]-yānam.

pabbhāre vara-kāru samutha-

patihi aneka-yonāhi.....si la

hi sa sa pa tha (?) (not read).

* "Mention is also made of offerings to monument—Chaitryas—erected to the memory of teachers.....Generally after the tenth day the bones are collected and placed in an urn which is buried to the accompaniment of the Rigvedic verse 'Approach thy mother and...' X. 10, 10" Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 255-56.

† Or, samapaṇu vihītānam.

(a) It is not possible to decide whether *su* is a remnant of a preceding word now lost, or it has to be taken with *katam*, 'done' (*su-katam*, 'well made'). Again there is some doubt as to the vowel-mark to the *nāṅkara* in *vihi-tānam*, *disānam* and *samghāyanam*. In each case the right-hand end turns downwards, giving it an appearance of *u*-stroke, but the downward bend is lost in decay and does not end in a chisel cut. It is therefore not certain that *u*-marks are incised. Probabilities are that they are produced by the process of decay. The mark in *vihi-tānam* is not sharp and very probably did not exist in the time of Cunningham and Bhagwan Lal Indrajī, neither of whom suspects it; though the mark in *disānam* was noticed. The comrade expressions (*nātānam*, etc.) also suggest that we should neglect the mark. If the marks were actually incised, the first two expressions would be treated as bearing influence of Jain Prakritism. The previous *katam* indicates that the third word in question should be *samghāyanam*, 'a place of congregation'. If originally a *u*-mark was incised in this word, it has to be taken as a mistake, as the *e*-mark in *govendābhivijayo* (line 2).^{*} It seems to me that this House of Congregation is identical with what is now called the Hāthigumphā. The cave is a huge hall, unlike neighbouring cave-buildings, without any interior chamber. Evidently it could have served no other purpose than of a meeting-hall. The reason why the inscription was engraved on this cave-building is to be found in its being the assembly hall.

The last three words are new text. As the closing letters of the passage had been lost sight of in taking the impression published in Vol. III, *ante*, I had a fresh estampage prepared which is reproduced herewith. The middle word (*Dhusiya*) is in fine condition. It is possible that a vowel-mark of *ṛi* is intended in its first letter, and that its *s* is cerebral. Mr. Panday reads *Rāṇisa* instead of *Rāṇiya*.

^{*} Mr. Panday is of opinion that the downward turn is only a style of *u* which develops still sharply later, as in Kushāna *u*'s.

The whole line is translated as follows :—

“There is made (by him) an Assembly House for accomplished Śramaṇas, for those who have scriptures as their eyes, for those who are full of wisdom, and for those who are holy on account of their austerities ; there near the Relic Depository of the Arhat, on the slope of the mountain, Shelters (Halting Palace) for the Simha-prastha Queen *Dhṛiṣṭi*, with stones,..... quarried out of excellent mines, brought from many miles (yojanas) ”

The latter sentence runs on to the next line. It deals with the Queen's halting palace which too was, as the context shows, on the same hill. It was a great building or series of buildings, for its cost of construction given in the next line is a huge sum. These 'shelters' of the Queen I identify with the grand, rock-cut buildings known as the Queen's Palace. It is close to the Hāthīgumphā, on the slope of the hill. It was meant for royal residence, as proved by the soldier-gatekeepers sculptured there and by the royal throne on the upper story of the north wing. The next line shows that the building was two storied, which is characteristic of this and the building at its back, the 'Svarga-pāṭalapuri'. The latter is excluded from the identification owing to the fact that it is not built by Khāra-vela but by his Agra-Mahishī (Chief Queen), and the King who succeeded him. Hence the description is applicable only to the Rani Naur (Queen's Palace). The sculptures and technique of the neighbouring cave-buildings, with inscriptions in Brāhmī, agree with those of the Rani Naur and prove its age to belong to the period of Khāra-vela. These facts and the description of the Queen's Shelters leave no doubt as to its identity with the Queen's Palace.

The Reliquary monument—the Arhat's Nishidi—must have been according to the inscription, near the Queen's Shelters. At the distance of about a furlong from the Hāthīgumphā,

on the top of the hill, to the west of the Jain Temple, I found numerous model chaityas covering a defined area. These chaityas are, of solid stone, and some bear figures of nude Tirthankars. Jain pilgrims now-a-days keep on the custom of chaitya dedication on the spot by piling up small stone pieces in imitation of votive chaityas, but curiously enough without knowing its meaning, without knowing that they dedicate chaityas! It has become a meaningless ceremonial now. I enquired from my Jain clients at Calcutta, who are fully conversant with the Hill and the worship there; they could not explain the practice of piling up the improvised toy-pyramids. I found many of these standing. There is comparatively a large chaitya, a block of about 4 feet in height; but this also appears to be a dedicatory piece and not the original monument. There are, however, some rude stone pieces lying in a heap and a seat-like structure on two stone pieces. A search underneath these may yet reveal the relics. An examination of the sculpture on the votive chaityas might render material help in determining the name of the Arhat whose remains were enshrined there. Unfortunately there was no time at my disposal to make the enquiry. Mr. Panday, when he goes to take the cast of the Hāthīgumpha inscription, might make a search for the relics and study the chaityas.

LINE 16.

Read—

For—

(a) —paṭāl[i]kochaṭare cha
veḍūriya-

—paṭāliko chaṭure cha
veduriya-

(b) pānatariyā satasahasehi [.]

Pānamtariya-saṭhivasa-sate
Raja-

(c) Muriya-kālam vochimn-
[e?] m cha choyāṭhi*
aga-satika'mtariyam upā-
dāyati.

Muriya-kāle vochehhine cha
chhe-yāṭhi Argasi ti kaptāri-
yam upādiyati.

(d) Vadha-rājā

Vadha-rājā

(e) pasanto anubhavanto

pasato anubhavato

(a) *paṭālikochatare* is one word on the rock. Its Sanskrit equivalent is *pāṭālika-avachatvare*, 'on the lower, roofed terrace'.

(b) This is a very important passage in the inscription on account of its former reading which gave one of the two phrases on the date. I examined the passage for several successive days, and so did Mr. Panday along with me. We both came to the definite conclusion that the text is as given above. The passage towards its close is very faint. We had three fresh impressions taken and they all confirmed the above reading. The last letter with its faint bottom gives the suggestion of two letters, *ra ji*, but it is really one letter, *hi*. I can with absolute confidence say that the former readings were wrong.

The sentence which ends with (b) means :—

(‘*Shelters for the Simha-prastha Queen Dhusi, etc.*’ in the last line).....(and) on the lower roofed terrace [*i.e.*, in the verandah] he establishes columns inlaid with beryl; at the cost of 75 hundred-thousand (paṇas) ”.

The columns to the verandah of the lower story in the Queen’s Palace are all, as compared with the finished columns in other parts, crude and rough, without any ornamentation and capitals. The passage of the inscription seems to explain this strange condition. It seems that they were encased-in with a coating which gave them artistic finish and that this casing was enlaid with beryl.

The cost of the whole building, ‘the Queen’s Shelters’, and also probably together with that of the Assembly Hall, was 7½ million paṇas (the then rupees).

(c) The reading *ḥkāle* was absolutely wrong; it is *kālam*. The anusvāra which is placed to the left of *la* misled scholars into reading an *e*-stroke. Cunningham was more correct than others in reading the letter as *la*. As to the next word there is some difficulty in ascertaining the vowel-value to its last letter. There appears a mark to the vertical stroke of the nakāra, which is very much like an incised *e*-mark, but at the same time there is also an anusvāra incised to the letter. The latter factor shows that the apparent *e*-mark, if incised, was a mistake of the

engraver like the *e*-stroke in *yoven* (1.2). The substantive it qualifies (*Muriya-kālam*) makes it certain that the form intended was *vochhimnam*, not *vochhimne* or *vochhimnem*. It is noteworthy that Cunningham chose to read the last letter as *na*, not *ne*. There can be no doubt as to the text being *chovaṭhi*; the right hand circle to *cho* which gave the letter, on the impression, an appearance of *chha*, is not incised on the rock, it is only a superficial mark. The mark which was taken to be a superscript *r* on *ga* of *aga*, does not show any chisel-mark. It seems to have been bored by hornets or bees, like so many other holes in the roof of the cave. The last word is *upādāyati*, as Mr. Banerji had read it. *Upādāyati* is third person singular, present, from the causative of *di* (with *upa* and *ā* prefixes); see *Kāchchāyana*, vi, 4-2; *vṛiddhi*, *ṇaya*, *dāyati*). *Di* (*intransitive*) means 'to end', 'to terminate' (*dīn kshaye*, *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, chapter on *Divādi*, 28); *dāyati*, (= *kshāpayati*), therefore, means 'he causes to terminate'.

Now the corrections in the text of the sentence displace all previous renderings. *Muriya-kālam* is accusative to *upādāyati*, *amtara* in connexion with time is 'space', 'interval'; *vochhimna* (*Skt.* *vyavachchhinna*) taken in the sense it usually comes, would mean 'limited' 'defined' (*parimita*). The translation of the whole sentence thus would be as follows:—

"He (the king) completes the Muriya time (era), counted, and being of an interval of sixty-four with a century."

There is an unusually large stop after this sentence, but no perpendicular stroke.

LINE 17.

Read—

For—

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (a) sava-devāyatana-saṃkāra- | tina saṃkāra-kāra[<i>o</i>] |
| kāra | |
| (b) vāhani-balo | vāhana-balo |
| (c) chaka-dhura | chaka-dhara |
| (d) pavata-chako | ghisaṃta-chako |
| (e) viniś[<i>r</i>]ito | vinichchhito |

(a) This new text means :—

‘One who is the restorer of every temple’. Probably catholicism of the king is implied by this as by the previous phrase ‘one who respects every sect’. The king was not only a great builder but also a great conservator of old buildings, both religious and temporal.

(b) This expression (with the preceding, [a]patihata-chaki-) means, ‘one whose chariot and army have not been obstructed’.

(c) *Dhura* in Pali is ‘leader’, ‘chief’; *chaka-dhura*, ‘the leader of the empire’. If the expression is taken together with the following *guta-chako*, the two will mean, ‘with an empire which is kept protected by the leader of the empire (or army)’.

(d) *Pavata-chako*, ‘one whose empire has been extended’.

(e) It is curious that only in this word the palatials *s* is found. The turning in the letter at the bottom of the left line is taken by me, with some doubt, as an *r*.

The Kāvya artificiality should be noticed in the repeated use of *chaka* in this line and of *ghara* in line 7.]

Sanskrit Rendering of the Text.

N.B.—Black types indicate space left in the inscription before important words to emphasise them.

॥ प्राकृतम् ॥

॥ संस्कृतम् ॥

Line 1.

नमो अरहन्तानं [] नमो सवसि-
घानं [] ऐरेन महाराजेन महामेघ-
वाहनेन **चेतराज**वस-वधनेन पसथ-
सुभलखनेन चतुरंतल धुन-गुनोपहि-
तेन कलिंगाधिपतिना सिरि **क्षार-**
वेलेन

नमोऽर्हन्तः [] नमः सर्वसिद्धेभ्यः []
ऐलेन महाराजेन महामेघवाहनेन
चैषराजवंशवर्धनेन प्रशस्तसुभलख-
नेन प्रतुरंतलस्थगुणोपहितेन कलि-
ङ्गाधिपतिना श्री**क्षारवेलेन**

Line 2.

पंदरसवसानि सिरि-कडार-सरौर-
वता कौडिता कुमारकौडिका []
ततो लेखरूपगणना-ववहार-विधि-
विसारदेन **हर्ष**दातेन नववसानि
योवरजं पसासितं [] संपुण-चतु-
वीसति-वसो तदानी वधमानसेस-
यौवे(=व)नाभिविजयो ततिथे

पंदरश्रवर्षाणि श्री-कडारशरौर-वता
कौडिताः कुमारकौडिकाः [] ततो
लेखरूपगणनाव्यवहारविधिविश्चारदेन
सर्वविद्यावदातेन नववर्षाणि यौवराज्यं
प्रशासितम् [] सम्पूर्णचतुर्विंशतिवर्ष-
स्तदानीं वर्धमानशेषयौवनाभिविजय-
स्तृतीये

Line 3.

कलिंगराजवंसे पुरिसयुगे **महा-**
राजाभित्तेचनं पापुनाति [] अभि-

कलिङ्गराजवंशे पुरव-युगाय¹ **महा-**
राज्याभित्तेचनं प्राप्नोति [] अभि-

¹ पुरिसयुगे इति विभित्ते चप्री ।
कल्पकरचनिमित्तत्वेण सप्तमी इति आशयः
(१. १. ४०)

॥ प्राकृतम् ॥

सितमतो च पद्यमे वसे वात-विहृत-
गोपुर-प्राकार-निवेशनं पटिसंखार-
यति [१] कलिङ्गनगरि' [१] ख-बौरं
इति-तालं तडाग-पाडियो च बंधाप-
यति [१] सवयान-पतिसंठपनं च

Line 4.

कारयति [१] पनतीसाहि सतसहस्रेहि
पकतियो च रंजयति [१] दुतिये च
वसे अचितयिता सातकणिं पक्किम-
दिसं हयगज-नर-रथ-बज्जलं दंडं
पयापयति [१] कण्हवेनां गताय च
सेनाय वितापयति^१ मुसिकनगरं [१]
ततिये पुन वसे

Line 5.

गंधव-वेदबुधो दंप-गत-गीत-वादित-
संदसगाहि उवव-समाज-कारापगाहि
च कौडापयति नगरिं [१] तथा चबुधे
वसे विजाधराधिवासं अहत-पुवं
कलिङ्गपुवराजनिवेशितं वित-
थ-मकुटे स-विजम' डिते च निखित-
हत-

^१ वितापितं इति वा ।

॥ संस्कृतम् ॥

शिलाभाजश्च प्रथमे वर्षे वातविहृतं
गोपुर-प्राकार-निवेशनं प्रतिसंस्का-
रयति [१] कलिङ्गनगर्याम् उच्चिका-विल्लं
इधितल्लं तडागपालीश्च बन्धयति [१]
सर्वोद्यानप्रतिसंस्थापनञ्च

कारयति [१] पञ्चत्रिंशच्छतसहस्रैः^१
प्रकृतौश्च रञ्जयति [१] द्वितीये च वर्षे
अचिन्तयित्वा सातकणिं पश्चिमदेशं^२
हय-गज-नर-रथ-बज्जलं दण्डं प्रस्थाप-
यति [१] कण्ठवेणां गतया च सेनाया
वितापयति : पूर्यमाणम् [१] तृतीये
पुनर्वर्षे

गन्धर्ववेदबुधो दम्प-नृत्त-गीत-वादित्र-
सन्दर्शनैस्तत्त्व-समाज-कारणैश्च कौड-
यति नगरीम् [१] तथा चतुर्थे वर्षे
विद्याधराधिवासम् अहतपूर्वं कलिङ्ग-
पूर्वराजनिवेशितं वितथ-मकु-
टान् सार्धितविल्लांश्च निक्षिप्त-हृज-

^१ पञ्चत्रिंशच्छत-सहस्रैः प्रकृतौः परिचिख्य
परिवचय्य इत्येतदर्थे कृती वा ।

^२ दिक्षुः वा कोशादयै विश्वार्थोऽपि ।

^३ दण्ड = दण्डयति ?

॥ प्राकृतम् ॥

Line 6.

-भिङ्गारे हित-रतन-सापतिवे सव-
रठिक भोजके पादे वंदापयति [1]
पञ्चमे च दानौ वसे नन्दराज-ति-वस-
सत-ओघाटितं तनसुलिय-वाटा पनाडिं
नगरं प्रवेस[य]ति [1] सो[पि च वसे]
हृडम'भिसितो च राजसुय['] संदस-
यंतो सव-कर-वर्णं

Line 7.

अनुगृह-अनेकानि सतसहस्रानि विस-
जति पोरं जानपदं [1] सतमं च वसं
पसासतो वजिरघरवि धुसि ति
घरिनी स-मनुक-पद-पुंना सकुमार[1]
..... [1] अठमे च
वसे महतिसेनाय मह[त-भित्ति]-गोर-
धगिरिं

Line 8.

घातापयिता राजगृहं उपपौडाय
यति [1] एतिना च कर्म'पदान-पनादेन
संवित-सेन-वाहिनीं विप्रमुंक्षिं मधुरां
अपयातो वेव नरिहो [नाम].....
..... [मो ?] यच्छति [विह] ...
..... पल्लवभरे

॥ संस्कृतम् ॥

भङ्गारान् हृत-रत्न-स्वापतेयान् सर्व-
राष्ट्रिकभोजकान् पादावभिवादयते
[1] पञ्चमे चेदानीं वर्षे नन्दराजेन
त्रि-शत-वर्षीयाम् अवघट्टितां तन-
सुलियवाटात् प्रणालीं नगरं प्रवेशयति
[1] सो[ऽपि च वर्षे] घष्टेऽभिषिक्तञ्च
राजसूयं सन्दर्शयन् सर्वकार-पणम्

अनुगृहाननेकान् शतसहस्रं विह-
जति पौराय जानपदाय [1] सप्तमं
च वर्षे प्रशासतो वष्मृहवती धृष्टि-
रिति गृहिणी सन्-माहकपद-पूर्णा
सकुमार[1] [1]
अष्टमे च वर्षे महत्या सेनया महा-
[भित्तिं] गोरधगिरिं

घातयित्वा राजगृहमुपपौडयति [1]
एतेन च कर्मवदान-प्रणादेन संबौतां
सैन्यवाहिनीं विप्रमोक्षु मधुरामपयात
एव नरेन्द्रो [नाम].....
..[मो ?] यच्छति [विह]
..... पल्लवभृतानि

१ नवमे वर्षे इत्येतस्य दृष्टपाठो नटो-
त्कर्षिताचरेण

॥ प्राकृतम् ॥

Line 9.

कल्पदृष्टे हय-गज-रघ-सह-यंते सव-
 घरावास-परिवसने स-अगिण्ठिने [1]
 सव-गहनं च कारयितुं बन्धुगानं
 जाति-पंतिं परिहारं ददाति [1]
 अरहत.....व.....न.....
 गिय

॥ संस्कृतम् ॥

कल्पदृष्टान् हयगजरथान् सयन्तु
 सर्वगृहावास-परिवसनानि सामिष्टि-
 कानि [1] सर्वग्रहणं च कारयितुं
 ब्राह्मणानां जातिपङ्क्तौ परिहारं ददाति
 [1] अर्हत् व
न.....गिया (?)

Line 10.

... [क] [फि] [मा]नेहि रा[ज]संनिवासं
 महाविजयं प्रासादं कारापयति अठ-
 तिसाय सत-सहस्रेहि [1] दसमे च
 वसे महघौत'भिसमयो भरघ-वस-
 पथानं महि-जयनं...ति कारापयति
 [निरितय] उयातानं
 च मणि-रतना[नि] उपलभते [1]

... [क] [फि] [म]नैः (?) राजसन्निवासं
 महाविजयं प्रासादं कारयति अष्टा-
 त्रिंशता शत-सहस्रैः [1] दशमे च
 वर्षे मह-धृताभिसमयो भारतवर्ष-
 प्रस्थानं महौ-जयनं...ति कारयति...
 [निरित्या ?] उद्यातानां च
 मणि-रत्नानि उपलभते [1]

Line 11.

..... मंडे च पुव-राजनिवे-
 सित-प्रीयङ्ग-द[ल]भ-गंगले नेकास-
 यति जनपद-भावनं च तेरस-वस-सत-
 केतुभद-तित'मर-देह-संचातं [1] वार-
 समे च वसे सेहि
 वितासयति उत्तरापथ-राजानो

.....¹..... मण्डे च पूर्वराजनिवेशिते
 पृथुदय-दलभ-लाङ्गले निष्कासयति
 जनपद-भावनञ्च त्रयोदश-शत-वर्षीयस्य
 केतुभद्रस्य तिल्लामर-देह-संचातम्
 [1] द्वादशे च वर्षे
 भिः वितासयति उत्तरापथराजान्

¹ यकादशे वर्षे इत्येतस्य दृष्टपदं
 नदी स्थितमिहःचात् ।

॥ प्राक्तनम् ॥

॥ संस्तनम् ॥

Line 12.

..... मगधानं च विपुलं भयं
जनेतो हृदिषु गङ्गाय प्राययति [1]
मागधं च राजानं बहुसतिमितं¹
पादे वंदापयति [1] नन्दराज-नीतं च
कालिङ्ग-जिन-सन्निवेसं गह-
रतनान् पडिहारेहि अंगमागध-वसुं
च नेयाति [1]

.... मगधानाश्च विपुलम्भयं
जनयन् हस्तिषु गङ्गायां प्राययति
[1] मागधश्च राजानं बहुसतिमितं
पादावभिवादयते [1] नन्दराजनीतश्च
कालिङ्ग-जिन-सन्निवेशं गह-
रत्नानां प्रतिहारैरङ्ग-मागध-वसूनि च
नाययति [1]

Line 13.

..... त जठर-लिखिल-वरानि
सिंहिरानि नौवेसयति सत-विसिकनं
परिहारेण [1] अभुतमच्छरियं
च हृदि-भावन परीपूरं उ[प-]
देण्ह हय-हयी-रतना-[मा]निकं
पंडाज्ञा एदानि अनेकानि सुत-
मणिरतनानि अहारापयति इध सत-
[स] [1]

.....त जठरोल्लिखितानि वराणि
शिखराणि निवेशयति शत-वैशिकानां
परिहारेण [1] अभुतमाश्चर्यं च हस्ति-
नावां पारिपूरम् उपदेयं हय-
हस्तिरत्न-माणिक्यं पाण्डुराजात्
दानौमनेकाने सुक्तामणिरत्नानि
आहारयति इह शत[शः] [1]

Line 14.

..... सिनो वसौकरोति [1]
तेरसमे च वसे सुप्रवत-विजयि-चके
कुमारीपवते अरहिते य[1]प-खिम-

..... सिनो वशीकरोति [1]
त्रयोदशे च वर्षे सुप्रवत-विजयि-चके
कुमारी-पर्वते अहिते याप-क्षेम-

¹ बहुसतिमितं इति वा ।

॥ प्राकृतम् ॥

असंताहि कायनिसीदीयाय थाप-
नावकेहि राजभित्तिनि चिनवतानि
वोसासितानि [1] पूजानि कत-उवासा
खारवेण-सिरिना जीवदेव-सिरि-कल्यं
राखिता [1]

Line 15.

..... [ता] सु कतं समण-
सुविहितानं(नुं?) च सात-दिसानं(नुं?)
आतानं तपस-इसिनं संधायनं(नुं?) [;]
अरहत-निसीदिया समीपे पभारे
वराकर-समुपपिताहि अनेक-योज-
नाहिताहि सिलाहि
सिंहपथ-राजिय¹ धुसिय निसयानि

Line 16.

..... पटालिकोचतरे च
वेडूरियगभे थंभे पतिठापयति [,] पान-
तरिया सत-सहसेहि [1] **सुरिय-**
कालं वोद्धिं(ने?) च पोयठि-अगस-
तिकंतरियं उपादायति [1] खेमराजा
स वठराजा स भिखुराजा घमराजा
पसंतो सुनंतो अनुभवंतो कलायानि

¹ रामिच वा इति चरनमन्त्रपाठेभ्यः ।

॥ संस्कृतम् ॥

असङ्गः कायिकनिषीद्यां थापञ्चापकेभ्यः
राज-भृतीर्खात्रताः व्यवशासिताः
[1] पूजाः कृतोपासाः क्षारवेलेन
श्रीमता श्रीजीवदेव-कल्यं रक्षिताः [1]

..... [ता] सु कृतं अमणोभ्यः¹
सुविहितेभ्यः शास्त्रदृग्भ्यः ज्ञातृभ्यः
तपञ्चविभ्यः संधायनम् [1] अर्हं निषीद्याः
समीपे प्राग्भारे वराकरसमुत्थापिता-
भिरनेकयोजनाहृताभिः
शिलाभिः सिंहप्रस्थीययै राज्यै दृष्ट्यै
निःअयाणि

..... पाटालिकावचत्तरे च
वैदूर्यगर्भान् स्तम्भान् प्रतिष्ठापयति [,]
पञ्चसप्तत्याश्रतसहस्रैः [1] **सुरिय-**कालं
अवच्छिन्नञ्च चतुःषष्ट्यश्रतकान्तरीय-
मुपादापयति² [1] खेमराजः स वर्द्धराजः
स भिक्षुराजो घर्मराजः पश्यन् प्रदणव-
न्ननुभवन् कल्याणानि

¹ अमणेषु वा ।

² दीप्तं चने विधि दापयति ।

॥ प्राकृतम् ॥

॥ संस्कृतम् ॥

Line 17.

..... गुण-विसेस-कुसलो
 सव-पासंड-पूजको सव-देवायतन-
 संकारकारको [अ]पति-हत-चक्रि-
 वाहिनिबलो चक्रधुर-गुप्तचक्रो पवत-
 चक्रो राजसि-वत्स-कुल-विनिश्चितो
 महा-विजयो राजा क्षार-वेण-
 सिरि

..... गुण-विशेष-कुशलः
 सर्व-पाषण्डपूजकः सर्व-देवायतन-
 संस्कारकारकः [अ]प्रतिहत-चक्रि-
 वाहिनी-बलः चक्रधुर-गुप्तचक्रः प्रवृत्त-
 चक्रो राजर्षिवंश-कुल-विनिश्चितो
 महाविजयो राजा क्षारवेणश्रीः

III.—The Bodh-Gaya Inscription of Prakhyāta-Kirtti.

By H. Panday, B.A.

This inscription was noticed for the first time in 1908 by the Archaeological Department. An inaccurate reading and translation, and a wrong estimate of its age, without any facsimile of the record and *critique* on the palaeography, were given by the late Dr. Th. Bloch in the Archaeological Annual Report for 1908-09.¹ The epigraph, however, deserves a fuller treatment which will be seen from the discussion here below.²

The stone on which this inscription is incised has recently been brought to the Patna Museum from the sculpture-shed at Bodh-Gaya.³ It is a fragment of a coping-stone of a balustrade exactly similar to (perhaps identical with) the one illustrated in Cunningham's *Mahabodhi* (Plate VII). It measures 3' 8½" long and is 1' 1" high with a width of 11"; but at the bottom one side has been cut away for 2½" × 2" all along the length, leaving a width of 9" only to allow the stone to set evenly on the balusters which were apparently of the same thickness (about 9"). Above this runs a frieze, 3½" high, of a row of four buffaloes facing to left followed by a tiger (or leopard), in low relief. On the other side of the stone the frieze consists of a row of lotus flowers in shallow relief. The bottom of the coping is not flat, but slightly concave. On the top there are grooves which received the clamps by which this piece of the coping was secured to others on either side at the joints. There is a mortice-hole near the left end of the stone (which appears to have been slightly broken off at this edge)

¹ *A. S. R.*, 1908-09, p. 158.

² I am obliged to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal for many suggestions.

³ In the Patna Museum it is numbered 113 in white. The Bodh-Gaya number (in pencil) was 699.

measuring $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ which received the tenon of one of the two balusters on which the coping-stone rested. The mortice-hole at the right end has disappeared although the chisel-dressing by which this end of the stone was originally finished is still traceable. It is probable that the joints of the coping were cut not vertically but at the slant as in the case of the balustrade at Sāñchi.⁴ Otherwise it would be difficult, if not impossible, to explain the existence of the mortice-hole near the end which appears broken and its absence on the side which appears comparatively more intact.

The coping is made of a variety of white sandstone with a tinge of red. There is no polish; but the dressing is very smooth. The material, the technique of the sculptures in the frieze, and the workmanship in general and the somewhat slanting joint and the concave bottom in particular make it certain that the railing to which our fragment belongs is a product of the art of the Śunga period. The present inscription, therefore, must have been carved on the coping after it had stood without one for many centuries.

The inscription is in two lines and is carved in the space immediately below the animal frieze above mentioned. It is in a perfect state of preservation with the exception of the end of the first line which has suffered from the breaking off of the stone surface near this point. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and the size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. The forms of the letters bear a strong resemblance to those in the Kabaun Prasasti of the reign of Skanda Gupta (460 A. C.)⁵ and are decidedly older than the Bodh-Gaya inscription of Mahānāman (Circa 588-89 A. C.).⁶ The $\dot{\text{r}}$ and $\ddot{\text{r}}$ strokes are always on the top while in Mahānāman's inscription they are carried down along the sides. The form of ṇa in this inscription is earlier than that

⁴ Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 84; *A.S.B.*, 1913-14, p. 7.

⁵ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 66.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 274; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV (1926), p. 356 (Plate).

in the Mahānāman's inscription but exactly similar to the form in the Kaṣāun (Prašasti and earlier inscriptions. The *ga*—except when a subscript in a conjunct letter, in which case it is shaped like a loop—is invariably tripartite and retains the older form. In Mahānāman's inscription the bipartite *ga* is the more common. These differences point to an earlier date for our inscription than 588-89 A. C.—the date of Mahānāman's inscription assigned by the late Dr. Fleet. The palaeographical evidence, therefore, would place it in the fifth century A. C., i.e. about a century earlier than Mahānāman's inscription. Dr. Bloch was too wide of the mark in assigning it to “the 6th or 7th century” A. C.⁷

The conjunct letters in this inscription are placed one above the other; in two instances, the subscript *ba* in *Kulāmbara* (v. 1) and the last subscript *ja* in *upārjitaṃ* (v. 3) are placed at the slant. The *halanta* letters are so distinguished by placing them at a lower level than the rest in the same line. There is no orthographical mistake in the whole inscription. The caret (*kikapīḍa*, lit. “crow's foot-print”) is employed once to indicate the omission of the conjunct letter *tmā* in *dharmaṃtmā* (v. 1) which is inserted in the space below the line. The use of this sign is remarkable.

The language is Sanskrit and the entire record is in verse—the first two being in the *anusṭubh* and the last in the *Vamśastha* metre. Of the last verse only three-quarters, viz. the first, second and last are found, and if the verse was complete the third quarter must have been engraved on the adjoining piece of the coping and may possibly be recovered some day. The verses and half-verses (and quarter-verses in the 3rd stanza) are separated by spaces which device is also employed once in this inscription to emphasize an important word *Buddhatvaṃ* in verse 2. Such use of the space was first discovered in the Hathīgumphā inscription of Khāravela by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.⁸ At the end of verse 3, however, the vertical stroke is employed to mark the end of the record.

⁷ A. S. E., 1908-09, p. 156.

⁸ J. B. O. E. S., Vol. II, pp. 429-30.

TEXT.

Line 1.—*सङ्गादोपवरं प्राप्तां अमयः पुण्यो भवत [I] प्रज्ञातकीर्ति-*
हं मेला खकुलामर चन्द्रमाः [II] भक्त्या तु भिक्षुवार्तेन बुद्धस्वमभि-
कांदता [I] चारा रत्नचये सम्यक्कारिताः श्रान्तये नृणाम् [II] इतो
मया यत्कुशलं ह्युपाप्सितं [I] तदस्तु वो[धाय ———]

Line 2.—*युमेन देवेन फलेन बुध्यताम् ।*

REMARKS.

(i) The *visarga* sign after *tā* in *Samyakkāritāh* is quite clear both on the stone as well as in the impression ; but it was not noticed by Dr. Bloch.

(ii) The first letter of the third verse is distinctly *i*—two dots with a vertical stroke on the right. I cannot imagine why Dr. Bloch should have read it as a *to*.

(iii) The letter after *tadastu* (v. 3, second quarter) is *bo*, not *pā* as Dr. Bloch read it. The following letter was also read by Dr. Bloch wrongly.

TRANSLATION.

The virtuous Śramana Prakhyātakīrti having been a descendant of the rulers of the Island of Lankā (Ceylon) (has become) moon to the firmament of his family (v. 1).

This monk, through devotion, desirous of attaining Buddhahood, caused to be performed properly acts of worship at the *Ratna-traya* for the peace of mankind (v. 2).

Whatever merit has been acquired by me through this, let that be for the enlightenment (of).....

Let that very auspicious reward be shared by ⁹ (v.3).....

NOTES ON THE ABOVE.

1. Prakhyāta-kīrti calls himself a descendant of the royal family of Ceylon. This assertion is supported by a passage in the well-known inscription of Mahānāman which states that many prominent members of the royal house of Ceylon forsook

⁹ Dr. Bloch translated it as " May he be provided with that very fruit of bliss ".

the glory of sovereignty and joined the Buddhist Brotherhood.
It runs thus:—

संयुक्तागमिनो विमुहुरेषः सत्त्वानुकम्पोदताः शिष्या यस्य सकृदि-
चेतरुणां लङ्कावकीपत्यकाम् । तेभ्यः शीलशुभान्विताश्च शतशः शिष्य-
प्रशिष्याः क्रमाज्जातास्तुङ्गनरेन्द्रवंशतिलकाः प्रोत्पद्यन्त्य राष्यत्रियम् ॥
(lines 4—6) ¹⁰.

It is the latter part of this passage that is important for our purpose.¹¹ The translation of the passage according to Sanskrit syntax would be as follows:—

“.....and after them, in course of time, followed in succession, as disciples and disciples' disciples, hundreds of ornaments of a lofty race of kings (who) forsook the glory of sovereignty and (became) possessed of the virtue of *Śīlas*¹² (i.e., the ten, eight or five precepts which are to be observed by a Buddhist).”

2. The word *kārā* was left untranslated by Bloch. He, however, surmised that it might be connected with the idea of

¹⁰ The late Dr. Fleet translated it as follows:—

“His disciples, endowed with a connected tradition of doctrine, purified as to (their) emotions, (and) active in compassion for existing beings, roamed at one time over the stainless country at the feet of the mountains of Laṅkā, and in succession from them there were born, in hundreds, disciples and disciples' disciples possessed of the virtue of (good) character, who, without the glory of (actual) sovereignty, were the ornaments of a lofty race of kings.”—*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 277.

¹¹ Fleet's translation is defective; *proterijya* (= having abandoned) has been translated as “without” and the passage has thus been rendered meaningless.

¹² “The ten *Śīlas* are ten precepts regulating the conduct of a Buddhist priest (*śāśīlāṃ, śāśavidhāṃ śīlāṃ*, Mah. 110, Jāt. 28) respectively prohibiting the destruction of life, theft, impurity, lying, the use of intoxicating liquors, eating at forbidden hours, attending worldly amusements, the use of unguents and ornaments, the use of a large or ornamented couch, and the receiving of money (Kh. 2; E. Mon. 28). The eight *Śīlas* (*aṭṭhaṅga śīlāṃ*, Att. 204) are the first eight of these (Att. 82). The first five *Śīlas* (*pañcasīlāṃ*) are binding on all Buddhists, and answer to our Decalogue, as they briefly sum up the primary duties of man. A layman may acquire merit by observing the five, eight or even ten *Śīlas* either for a limited period or till death (thus at Att. 204 a king undertakes to observe the eight precepts)” —Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, p. 476.

prison.¹³ But *kārā* is a fairly well-known term in Buddhist literature meaning 'acts of worship.' For instance, see *Divyāvadāna* where both masculine and feminine forms are used.

(i) p. 183—

यन्मयेर्वविधे सङ्गूतदक्षिणोये कारः कृतोऽनेनाहं कुशलमूलेन यद्वेकस्य
गन्धं योजयेयं घृतं वा सहस्रं वा गन्धं ब्राह्म्यति तं न परिचयं गच्छेयुः.....;

(ii) *ibid.* p. 188—

घन्यास्ते पुरुषालोके ये बुद्धं शरण्यं गताः ।

निर्वृतिं ते गमिष्यन्ति बुद्धकारकृतौ जनाः ॥

येऽप्यनपि जिने कारान्करिष्यन्ति विनायके ।

विचित्रं स्तर्गमागम्य ते सपस्यन्तोऽन्दतं पदम् ॥ ;

(iii) *ibid.* p. 289—

यन्मया एवंविधे सङ्गूतदक्षिणीये कारा कृता अनेनाहं कुशलमूलेनाटे
महाघने महाभोगे कुले जायेयम्... ;

(iv) *ibid.* p. 329—

भगवानाह । योऽसौ भिच्छवो निर्मितो यदि यद्दुर्गिकैर्भिच्छुभिर्न
विचेठितोऽभविष्यदावच्छासनकोटिं उद्घाटको बुद्धे धर्मे संघे कारान-
करिष्यत् । ;

(v) *ibid.* p. 20—

सङ्घः वसितो राजाशोको यच्छ्रमणेषु शाक्यपुत्रीयेषु कारां करोति । ;

(vi) *ibid.* p. 588—

यन्मयेर्वविधे सङ्गूतदक्षिणीयेऽपकारः कृतो माहमस्य कर्मणो भारी
स्यां यत्तु कारा कृता अनेनाहं कुशलमूलेनाटे महाघने महाभोगे कुले
जायेयम्.....

3. The word *Ratna-traya* which presented another difficulty to the former interpreter is to be taken in the sense in which it is generally found in Buddhist writings, namely, to denote the Buddhist Triad—Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

¹³ "I do not know in what sense this word has been employed here. I can hardly imagine it to mean 'a prison' as it generally does. For, although a prison certainly is a very powerful and effective means of securing peace to mankind (see end of v. 2), I doubt if a monk in building a prison could have thought of 'attaining to the state of a Buddha' as Prakhyātakirtti did, when he built his *kārā* (see v. 2)." A. S. R., 1908-09, p. 156 f. n.

Dr. Bloch's conjecture¹⁴ as to the existence of "a symbol of the 'three jewels' at Bodh-Gayā having the shape of three wheels placed upon a pillar" is not tenable; nor is any such conjecture needed. At the period to which the inscription belongs institutions representing the Triad in the shape of colossal monuments were already in existence at Bodh-Gaya.¹⁵ The passage in the Divyāvadāna shows that "*kārā*" was done "to Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha." The collective *tri-ratna*, therefore, does not refer to a collective *tri-ratna* shrine but to the three members in the ordinary and general sense.

¹⁴ "This expression, again, is not clear to me. I suppose, however, that it may refer to some sacred spot within the Bolhi area at Bodh-Gaya, where, perhaps, a symbol of the 'three jewels', viz. *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*, may have stood, having the shape of three wheels, placed upon a pillar, like similar symbols known to us from other ancient Buddhist localities in India."—*A. S. E.*, 1908-09, p. 156, fn.

¹⁵ It appears that the monastery which was commenced at Bodh-Gaya by the Ceylonese king Meghavarna during the reign of Samudra-Gupta had already been completed and established when this inscription was carved.

IV.—Some Problems in Gupta Chronology

By Panna Lal, I.C.S.

The accepted dates of the Gupta Emperors are as follows (*vide* V. Smith, *Early History of India*, 1914 Edition) :—

Chandragupta II Vikramāditya	...	380—414 A.D.
Kumāragupta I	...	414—455
Skandagupta	...	455—470 ¹
		—480 ²
Puragupta	...	470 } 485 480 }
Narasimhagupta	...	485—535
Kumāragupta II	...	535—550

Two other branches of the Gupta Kings are also known to have existed, one in the East, in Magadha, from the year 475³ and the other in the Western part of the Empire, viz. in Malwa. The rulers of this latter dynasty of whom we have records are Budhagupta and Bhānugupta, whose known dates are 484⁴ and 494⁵ for the first and 510⁶ for the second. Recently two images of the Buddha have been discovered during excavations made by the Archaeological Survey of India⁷ at Sārnāth, near Benares, with inscriptions which give the dates 154 and 157 expired, of the Gupta Era for Kumāragupta and Budhagupta respectively. These correspond to 474 and 477 A.D.

The Kumāragupta mentioned in this inscription must, it is said, be the third of that name. Attempt has been made to show

¹ Hearnle, *J.A.S.B.*, 1889, page 96.

² V. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*, page 311.

³ Fleet, *Corpus Inscript. Indic.*, Volume III, int. page 14.

⁴ Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Volume III, page 88.

⁵ Coins, *vide* Allan, *Cat. of Gupta Coins in Br. Mus.*, page lxii.

⁶ Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Volume III, page 91.

⁷ Report of Supdt., Hindu and Buddh. Monuments, Northern Circle, 1914-15, pages 6-7.

that this third, (the Sārnāth), Kumāragupta together with Budhagupta and Bhānugupta represent an independent branch of the Empire possibly descended from Skandagupta and reigning at the same time as Skandagupta and his descendants. But there are difficulties in the way of accepting this simple solution.*

1. How could the Sārnāth Kumāragupta be ruling simultaneously with a powerful chief like Skanda in the very heart of his Empire? And even if he could who was he? Neither inscriptions nor coins give indication of more than two Kumāras.

2. Budhagupta's known coins were found at Benares. Now his inscription has also been found near there. (Sārnāth is only four miles from Benares.) Also a copper plate grant, discovered at Dinājpur in Bengal, mentions him as the ruling sovereign. His inscription at Eran (in the Saugor District) has been known⁸ for long. He cannot thus be what for some years he is supposed to have been, viz. a local chieftain of Mālwa.

3. Also if the dates accepted at present for Pura and Narasimha are right, it is difficult to explain how rulers of limited powers like them could co-exist with a rival like Budhagupta at Sārnāth.

4. Again, we have the following records to examine the epigraphic evidence of

(i) Bhitri pillar of the reign of Skandagupta who ruled from 455 to 467 A.D. The inscription is dateless.

(ii) Bhitri seal, dateless, of Kumāra, son of Narasimha (said to have ruled from 535 to 550 A.D.)

(iii) Sārnāth Kumāragupta inscription, dated 474 A.D.

Vincent Smith admitted⁹ that the script of the seal appeared to be of an earlier date than what he was assigning to Kumāra. Hørnle said¹⁰ that the script of the seal appeared to be of the same period as of the Bhitri pillar. This was a puzzle. Now we have a third record to increase our difficulty, for there is still

⁸ Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Volume III, page 88.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, 1902, p. 264.

¹⁰ *J.A.S.B.*, 1889.

no indication that the script of the seal is later than that of the Sarnāth inscription. How is this to be explained?

These difficulties are not easy to solve if we adhere to the dates given at the head of this paper. A fresh study of the authorities on which they are based has led me to the conclusion that they need considerable modification. The chronology which I have suggested elsewhere¹¹ solves these difficulties and does not seem open to any other objection. I give here briefly the history of the establishment of these dates to enable the reader to judge for himself what value to attach to them.

Our first genealogy of any length was furnished by the Bhitri pillar. It is as below :—

Gupta
|
Ghatot-kacha.
|
Chandragupta.
|
Samudragupta.
|
Chandragupta.
|
Kumāragup'a.
|
Skandagupta.

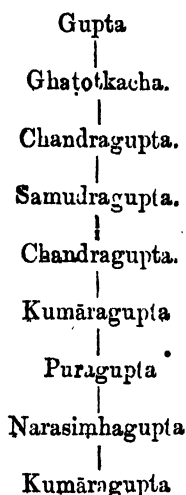
It gives no dates. Skandagupta's latest certain date was 148 Gupta Era (=467 A.D.) on a coin. The next landmark was the Eran inscription of Budhagupta of the year 484.

It was therefore supposed that Budhagupta followed Skanda as a real Gupta Emperor though his exact relationship with Skanda was not known. Indeed Fleet in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, suggested¹² as much, and in his genealogical table on page 17 showed Budhagupta just below Skanda.

¹¹ *Hindustan Review*, Allahabad, January, 1918. A number of Indian and European Scholars have since written to me expressing their agreement with my conclusions. Mr. Vincent Smith thinks it very likely that I am right. [See J.B.O.R.S. ante, p. 344—K. P. J.]

¹² P. 1.

Then came, in 1882, the discovery of the Bhitri seal. It gave the following genealogy—



Skandagupta was not mentioned. The first question was to explain this omission. It was suggested that Pura was a brother of Skanda, and therefore the later emperors in tracing their descent from the early emperors did not feel it necessary to mention collateral relations. This is a simple and natural explanation, though authority is still wanting in support of the suggestion. [Another explanation was that Pura was another name of Skanda.]

This seal thus gave us three new emperors Pura, Narasimha and Kumāra, but no dates for them. There was no other data available to fix them. Coins of Nara Balāditya had been known. It was suggested that he was the same as the Narasimha of the seal, and further that they were identical with Balāditya, raja of Magadha, who was mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as having defeated the Hun Mihirakula. The defeat of the Huns was estimated to have taken place about 535 A.D. Narasimha of the seal was therefore at once tied down to this date (535 A.D.) and the period between it and the last known date of Skanda (467 A.D.)

was apportioned suitably among Skanda, Pura and Narasimha as below—

Skanda	...	...	455—470 ¹³
			480 ¹⁴
Pura	...	...	480—485 ¹⁵
Narasimha	...	...	485—535
Kumāra	...	...	535—550

This is how it happened ; and the dates have remained unchallenged since. But there is, as a fact, no authority for any of these dates. Now that we have an inscription, the reliability of which is beyond doubt and which as shown above does not fit in with the dates based upon Hiuen Tsang, well might one ask if we have not been wrong all these years. In my paper in the *Hindustan Review* mentioned above I have given reasons at length for disbelieving Hiuen Tsang and have shown that there are political, epigraphic and numismatic considerations against bringing the lower limit of Narasimha's reign to 535 A. D.¹⁶ It was Yashodharman, not Narasimha, who really defeated Mihirakula. This is clear from his inscriptions, and has been proved independently by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.¹⁷

It is submitted therefore that the chronology adopted in 1889 when no inscriptional data was available be now modified in the light of recent discoveries ; or if the existence of a third Kumāra is mooted the difficulties pointed out above be considered and solved.

Leaving the Kumārguptas aside, let us turn to Budhagupta. There can be no doubt that he ruled from 477 to

¹³ Hearnle, *J. A. S. B.*, 1889, p. 96. No reason given. Q. Was 470 selected solely as being more of a round number than 467 ?

¹⁴ V. Smith, *E. H. I.*, p. 311. This date was based upon a wrong reading of the date on a coin. *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, p. 133, Pl. IV, fig. 4. The correct reading is 464 A.D., vide Allan's *Gupta Coins*, p. 133. Coin No. 543.

¹⁵ V. Smith, *E. H. I.*, p. 311. No reason given.

¹⁶ The dates suggested by me are :—Skanda 455-467 ; Pura 467-469 ; Narasimha 469-473 ; Kumāra II, 473-477. The Sārnāth inscription would thus relate to this the second Kumāra, and Budhagupta would follow him as a real Gupta Emperor.

¹⁷ *Ind. Antig.*, 1917, p. 153.

494 A.D. over the whole of the country then under the Gupta Empire, from Malwa to Bengal. Why then has he left so few coins? The British Museum Catalogue has only three silver coins; and there are not very many more elsewhere. We know how eager Indian rulers and usurpers, even those whose reigns did not last more than a few days, were to mint coins. This paucity of Budhagupta coins is inexplicable. It may be that a systematic search has not been made for his coins, he being considered so far to be a minor chieftain of Malwa. Now that he is being rehabilitated, I hope an attempt will be made by members of the Bihar Research Society to search systematically in the bazars of Bihar and Bengal to find more coins of the later Gupta Emperors, and all "finds" reported to that Society or to the Numismatic Society of India.

V.—Shivaji and the English in Western India.*

By Jadunath Sarkar, M.A.

I.

After slaying Afzal Khan (September 1659) and routing his army, Shivaji pursued the Bijapuris to Panhala, captured that fort, and then entered the Ratnagiri district in South Konkan and began to "take possession of all the port and inland towns." The Bijapuri governors of these places fled to Rajapur, which was at first spared, "because it belonged to Rustam-i-zaman, who is a friend of Shivaji." (Rajapur to Surat, 10 October 1659, *F. R. Rajapur*).

On the fall of Dabhol, its defeated governor made his escape to Rajapur with three junks of Afzal Khan, of 450, 350 and 300 tons burden respectively. The Magistrate of Rajapur, by order of his master Rustam-i-zaman, received the junks and landed their cargoes. In the meantime Shivaji had encountered and routed near Panhala the combined armies of Rustam and Fazal Khan (the son of Afzal). The latter, who bore the brunt of the battle, lost many of his followers, while Rustam, who had been lukewarm in the contest, retreated to Hukri with slight loss. (Rajapur to Bassein, 4 February 1660, *F. R. Rajapur*).

The news of this battle greatly alarmed Rustam's agent at Rajapur, who tried to escape to the open sea in one of the junks arrived from Dabhol. From this incident sprang the first collision between the English and the Marathas, but its real cause was not any hindrance offered by Shivaji to the legitimate trade of the East India Company or its servants. It was solely

* The references are to two sets of MS. letters, consultations, etc., preserved in the India Office, London, entitled *Factory Records* and *Original Correspondence*. These have been copied for my use. Some of the old factory records have been preserved only in the copies made by Orme, in Orme MSS., India Office.

due to the greed and crooked dealing of one of the Company's officers, Mr. Henry Revington, the chief of the Rajapur factory. An Indian broker employed by him had lent some money to Rustam-i-zaman and taken a bill for it, falsely in the Company's name as 'creditor. When the governor was trying to run away from the town, the broker influenced Mr. Revington to assist him in getting his money back. Mr. Revington sent an English ship, the *Diamond*, to stop the junk occupied by the governor and make him pay what he was pleased to represent as "monies due to the Company". A part of the amount was immediately paid in goods. But just then Shivaji's horsemen appeared on the bank to seize the junks of Afzal Khan and called upon the English to give up the one in which the governor was. The English declined, and the governor gladly seized this device for escaping capture by the Marathas and urged the English "to take possession of two of these junks and own them." Mr. Revington took one of the vessels over, renamed it the *Rajapur Merchant*, and placed it under an English Captain.

In a parley with the Maratha general, the English refused to give up the goods in the junk unless he gave them an order on the revenue of the town for the money claimed by them. The largest junk, which had not been taken over by the English, weighed anchor and fell down the creek to beyond the range of the Maratha guns, after firing on Shiva's men on both banks. At this disappointment, the Marathas seized the English brokers, Baghji and Balji, at Jaitapur (at the mouth of the creek, 11 miles west of Rajapur), on the ground that "the English would not take the junk for them, but let her go." (*Ibid*; also Surat Council to Company, 6 April 1660, *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 85.)

Mr. Philip Gyffard was sent to the Maratha camp to demand the release of the brokers, but they seized him too, and carried away the three prisoners to Karapatam (mod. Kharepatan) fort that night, threatening to detain them unless the English captured the

junks for the Marathas and delivered to them the goods they had taken on the governor's junk. (18 January 1660.)

On 18th February, Revington wrote a letter to Shivaji promising him the friendly help of the English in an attack on Danda Rajpuri, and soliciting an order for the release of the two captives, as they had been seized only because the English "would not take the junks lying in Rajapur river and be enemies to those who are our friends." But before this the broker had already appealed to Shivaji and Rustam-i-zaman, and orders had come from them for the release of the two. Balji was immediately set free, "but Mr. Gyffard was kept by a rogue Brahman in Karapatam castle, out of lucre and expectation of a bribe." Mr. Revington protested against it to Shivaji and Rustam. (Rajapur to Surat, 15 February 1660)

Shivaji condemned the attack on his ally's town of Rajapur, dismissed Doroji, the general responsible for it, "commanded all things that his soldiers took from the townsmen [at Rajapur] to be restored" and put Rustam-i-zaman's agents again in possession of the town and port. (*Ibid*, 20 February.)

Before any reply could come from Shivaji, Mr. Revington, learning that the Maratha governor of Karapatam was sending Mr. Gyffard away to Satavli (9 miles north-west of Rajapur) or to Khelna fort, despatched a party of 30 soldiers, who waylaid the Maratha escort in a town 10 miles from Rajapur and rescued Mr. Gyffard by force. (*Ibid*, 28 February.)

II.

The second Maratha attack on the English took place at the end of the same year, and here the Englishmen were clearly in the wrong, though the Company's official attitude was correct and neutral.

In June 1660, while Siddi Jauhar, acting on behalf of the Bijapur Government, was investing Shivaji in Panhala fort, the former purchased from the English at Rajapur some grenades "which undoubtedly will be the chiefest disturbers of the besieged". Some Englishmen of Rajapur were also bribed to go to the

Bijapuri camp outside Panhala and help in the bombardment of the fort, "tossing balls with a flag that was known to be the English's."

Shivaji punished this breach of neutrality in December next, when he surprised Bijapur, plundered the English factory, and carried off four of the factors—Henry Revington, Richard Taylor, Rando'ph Taylor and Philip Gyffard—as prisoners, 'first to Waisati, then to Songarh, a fort three miles north-west of Mahad (in the Kolaba district) and finally to Rigarh.

At Rajapur, the Brahman agent of Shivaji told the prisoners that his master would give the English a fine port named Meate Bandar,* on the coast, if they helped him in taking Danda Rajpuri; but they declined to "discourse about it" unless he set them free. Then Shivaji laid a ransom on the captives, and sent them to Waisati fort. Many other persons—Hindu merchants (*banians*), Indian Muslims, Persians and Arabs—were kept there in his prison in a miserable plight and beaten to extort ransom.

The Englishmen steadily refused to pay any ransom and tried to secure their liberty by feigned negotiations for helping the Marathas with English ships in capturing Danda Rajpuri, but taking care to impose such terms as always left the English "a hole to creep out of their obligation" after recovering liberty. Then they tried the effect of threat by saying that if they were not released their countrymen at Surat would grant Aurangzib's desire by transporting a Mughal army into the Deccan [*i.e.*, the Konkan district] by sea. (Orme MSS., Vol. 155, pages 1-21, letter from the English prisoners at Songarh, 28 June 1661.)

Raoji Pandit had been sent by Shivaji to take charge of all the prisoners in Songarh and "do with them as he thought fit." The four Englishmen were well treated. But their captivity was prolonged past endurance. To the demand for

* *Meate Bandar* is not the name of a place, but a general term for salt-ports, it being a compound of the Marathi word *mith*, मिठ, salt, and Persian *bandar*, port. The term occurs in old Marathi letters, (*Vide* Rajwade's *Marathasahitya Itihas*. *Sadhasa*, VIII. 22, and Mawjee and Parasnis's *Sanadprantiki Mahiti*, 57.)

ransom they replied that they could pay nothing, having lost their all in the sack of Rajapur. Shivaji's absence on an expedition near Kalian (June 1661) also delayed the progress of negotiations about an alliance with the English against the Siddis. The "disconsolate prisoners in Raigarh," after more than a year's confinement, lost their temper and wrote in disrespectful and abusive terms to the President and Council at Surat, charging the latter with making no exertion for their release. The reply of the Surat Council was a stern but well-merited rebuke (dated 10th March 1662): "How you came in prison you know very well. 'Twas not for defending the Company's goods, 'twas for going to the siege of Panhala and tossing balls with a flag that was known to be the English's. None but what [is] rehearsed is the cause of your imprisonment." (*Ibid.*, also Surat to the Prisoners in Rairi castle, 10 March 1662, *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 85).

It seems that the four Englishmen made an attempt to escape from Songarh, but were caught and sent off to Raigarh to be kept in "closer confinement." Towards the middle of 1662, when their captivity had lasted a year and a half, the Council at Surat, finding all appeals to Shivaji and his suzerain fruitless, commissioned some of the English ships to make reprisals by capturing on the high seas Deccani vessels, whether belonging to the king of Bijapur or Shivaji or any merchant of the country, especially the one bringing the Dowager Queen Bari Sahiba back from Mecca. They hoped that such a success would compel the Bijapur Government to put pressure on Shivaji to release the Englishmen. But no good prize offered itself to the English privateers. The Surat Council also influenced the Mughal governor of Surat to write to Shaista Khan, who was then reported to be pressing Shivaji hard (about November 1662), to importune him to move for their release. (Surat to R. Taylor, 17 May 1662, *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 85; Surat Consult., 21 July, *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 2, also under 21st July, 19th August and 14th November in Vol. 85.)

On 3rd February 1663, the Council commissioned the captain of H.M.S. *Convertite* to capture two vessels of considerable burden which Shivaji was fitting out at Jaitapur for Mocha and loading with "such goods as were driven by storms upon his coast, which was of considerable value." (*F.R. Surat*, Vol. 2.) But such a step became unnecessary, as Rajji Pandit, the Maratha governor of Rajapur, sent for the four captives from Rajgarh and set them free (about 5th February) with solemn assurances from Shivaji that the English would enjoy his protection in future. (Rajapur to Surat, 6th February 1663, in *F.R. Surat*, Vol. 103.) The Council at Surat say that they "had desisted from calling that perfidious rebel Shivaji to an account, because they had not either conveniency of force or time." They were still resolved to avenge the wrong done to their masters' property and the sufferings of their "loving brethren," but sadly realized that "as yet we are altogether uncapable for want of shipping and men necessary for such an enterprise, wherefore patience." (Surat Council to R. Taylor, 9 October 1663, in *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 2.)

Therefore, instead of resorting to force, they began negotiations with Shivaji for compensation for the loss done to their factory at Rajapur. These were protracted for many years till the hearts of the Englishmen grew sick. Even when Shivaji agreed as to the amount of damages and admitted his liability for it, the actual payment was repeatedly put off and never fully carried out. With the help of the Factory Records preserved in the India Office, London, we can clearly trace the history of these negotiations through their successive stages, the alternate hopes and disappointments of the English, their diverse tactics, their series of embassies, and their final conviction, at the close of Shivaji's life, that they would get nothing at all from him. The records of this long-drawn diplomatic intercourse afford striking examples of the perseverance and patience of the English traders, though one is apt to smile when he reads how they held diametrically opposite views of Shivaji's character and feelings at different stages of the negotiations, as they hoped or despaired

of a settlement of their claims. Our psychology is naturally coloured by our emotions.

Shivaji's encounter with the English during his two raids on Surat (in 1664 and 1670) and the dispute between them in connection with his fortification of the Khanderi island have been kept out of the present paper, which deals with the South Konkan and Kanara factories only.

III.

The policy of the English traders is thus clearly set forth in a letter from the Deputy Governor and Council of Bombay to the President and Council of Surat, dated 25th November 1668 :

"According to your commands, we shall at convenient time enorder such as we employ to treat Shivaji's servants civilly" wherever they meet them, but not to enter into any contract with them, letting them know the great damage the Hon'ble Company hath suffered and the abuses offered to our people on several occasions, for which we expect satisfaction and reparation before we enter into any league with their master,—all of which, we suppose, will come to his ears by one or more of his servants, though we are not of opinion that ever he will be brought to a peaceable treaty till he be forced to it." (*F. R. Surat*, Vol. 105.)

In a letter from the same to the same, dated 17 March 1669, we read, "Shivaji Raja having by his servants requested a favour of no great import, not exceeding Rs. 300, ... we ... having much occasion for a good correspondence with his people on the main [-land] from whence most of provisions come hither, and wood [i.e., fuel] in special, (which is not to be had other where), we were the more ready to gratify Shivaji Raja." (*Ibid.*)

On 5th March 1670, the President and Council at Surat instruct the Deputy Governor of Bombay thus : "The war broke out between Shivaji and the Mughal hath put a check to some overtures which were made to the President of an accommodation with Shivaji touching the Company's demands on him; but we hope they will yet go forward, ... but we would not have

you appear too forward lest you undervalue our pretence [=lawful claim] and make him cool." (*F. R. Surat*, Vol. 3.)

In October Shivaji tried to put the English of Bombay in distress, evidently because they refused to sell him war material (esp. lead) for his contest with the Siddi of Danda-Rajpuri. Bombay writes to Surat on 14 October 1670: "A few days since we, as usually, sent our boats to the main [-land] for wood to burn our *chunam* with; but ... our boats returned, empty being forbid by Shivaji's people to cut any more wood in those parts." (*F. R. Surat*, 105.) On 12 August 1671 Bombay writes to Surat, "The Deputy Governor [of Bombay] received an answer from Shivaji, ... by which your Honour, etc., will see how he slights our friendship." (*Ibid.*)

But in September 1671 Shivaji sent an ambassador to Bombay to treat with the English. Shivaji's chief motive was to secure English aid against Danda-Rajpuri, especially a supply of "grenadoes, mortar-pieces and ammunition". The Bombay Council immediately realized that unless he obtained these war materials he "would not pay a penny" of compensation for the loot of their factory at Rajapur. The President of Surat sent the following instructions to the factors at Bombay: "Let him know that if he gives us such encouragement that we settle in his port, he may obtain from us those advantages that other nations do in whose ports we trade. But we would not positively have them [the English representatives in these negotiations] promise him those grenadoes, mortar-pieces and ammunition he desires, nor absolutely deny him, in regard we do not think it convenient to help him against Danda-Rajpuri, which place if it were in his possession, would prove a great annoyance to the port of Bombay; and on the other side, our denial is not consistent at present with our interest, in respect we believe the keeping in suspense will bring him to a speedier conclusion of the treaty, hoping thereby to be furnished with those things he desires." (*F. R. Surat* 87.)

The negotiations, as might have been expected from the diverse aims of the two parties, could not possibly end in an

agreement. They were protracted till December, when Shivaji was out on his forays and "now not easily to be found or treated with". The English proposed to send Lieut. Stephen Ustick to treat directly with Shivaji. (*F. R. Surat*, 106, Bombay to Surat, 8 November and 15 December 1671.) This envoy was directed to "set out in a handsome equipage befitting the Company's honour", with Ram Shenvi, the Company's interpreter. (*F. R. Surat*, 87, Surat to Bombay, 30 September 1671.)

As early as the end of November, the Council of Surat lost all hope of a settlement. They write to Bombay (30 November 1671), "Ram Shenvi hath private [ly] discoursed with us [as to] what Shivaji proposes to us by way of accommodation and what he demands from us in order to the supply of his wars against Danda-Rajpuri, in both which we find so much subtilty, self-policy and unsecure inconstancy on his part, and so great difficulties and apparent hazard on the Company's to deal with him on these terms, that we begin to despair of bringing the business to any issue in the way it is now carried.... We do confirm our former resolution that till the matter of satisfaction for the Company's and nation's former losses be first determined, we cannot with honour or safety concede to any thing which he proposeth".

The instructions to Lieut. Ustick were "that he endeavour to end the dispute touching satisfaction of past damages..., as also to procure his [i.e., Shivaji's] general *qawl* or *farman* for us to trade with freedom and security in all the ports of his country and inland cities whatsoever, paying 2 per cent. custom." (*F. R. Surat*, 87.)

The Maratha envoy had brought with himself to Bombay Rs. 6,000 worth of the cloth looted at Surat in October 1670, consisting of *katanis*, *rumdls*, etc., and asked the English to buy them; but "they being not commodities proper for the Hon'ble Company to deal in" the factors refused to buy them. (*F. R. Surat*, 87, Surat to Bombay, 1 January 1672.) But as Shivaji had presumably no ready money to spare, the English

were ready to accept these goods in part payment of " what shall be agreed on to be due for satisfaction of our former losses, provided that the commodities were not over-rated, but cheap and good in their kind." (*Ibid*, 30 November 1671.) A compromise was, however, made with the Maratha ambassador; the English lent him Rs. 1,500 upon his goods payable at two months' time. Lieut. Ustick was to have set out on his embassy on 15th January 1672, but was detained at Bombay by a message from Shivaji saying that he was too busy fighting the Mughal generals in Baglana to receive the envoy then. (*F. R. Surat*, 106, Bombay to Surat, 13 and 20 January 1672.)

IV.

At last Lieut. Ustick was sent on his mission on 10th March 1672, and came back on 13th May, with failure. " He, after a long and tedious attendance, had half an hour's discourse with him (Shivaji) and his Brahmans to little effect, but at last [Shivaji] proffered 5,000 pagodas towards our losses, and promiseth, if your Honour will please to settle a factory at Rajapur, to show all kindness and civility imaginable to the said factory." (Bombay to Surat, 13 March and 14 May 1672, *F.R. Surat*, 106.)

The negotiations broke down on the question of the amount of the indemnity. A Bombay letter to the Company, dated 21st December 1672, (*O.C.* 3722) states, " We demanded one hundred thousand rupees, they offered 20,000, declaring that Shivaji never made more advantage by what was robbed of the English;...that what was taken in the chests, trunks and warehouses of particular men (*i.e.*, European private traders), it may be was plundered by his soldiers, but he never had anything thereof, and therefore would not satisfy for it; but what (booty) was received and entered into his books he was willing to restore and make satisfaction for... While these things were transacting, Shivaji was engaged in a great design against the Koli country, whereupon the (Brahman) minister appointed to treat (with Mr. Ustick) being called away,

Mr. Ustick also returned to Bombay." But the English factors deliberately held off from pressing the negotiations to a close. As they write, "We have a hard and ticklish game to play, for the King (Aurangzib) being highly enraged against Shivaji, should he understand that we ... hold any correspondence with him, it might probably cause him to order some disturbance to be given to your general affairs, not only in these parts but in Bengal also. On the other hand, we are forced to keep fair with Shivaji also, because from his countries we are supplied with provisions, timber and firewood, and likewise your inhabitants of Bombay drive a good trade into the main [-land], which would be a great prejudice to your island if it were obstructed. On these considerations we judge it your interest to suspend the treaty at present.... We shall have great difficulty to recover anything for those gentlemen (i.e., private traders) who suffered particularly in that loss at Rajapur, for Shivaji ... by the merchants of Rajapur hath understood what did belong to the Company and what to particular men; the latter he disowns totally.... Had it not been for our standing on some satisfaction for them, we had ended the dispute before now." (*Ibid.*)

V.

Between May and December 1672 two envoys were sent by Shivaji to the English factors at Bombay. In February 1673, a third envoy, Pilaji, came from Shivaji, but was dismissed without effecting anything. In May the Bombay Council resolved "to send Mr. Thomas Niccolls with a Banian broker to make a final demand of the damage done us at Rajapur, and now lately by his forces in Hubli."* (*P.R. Surat*, Vol. 3, Surat Consultation, 24 May 1673.)

On 19th May, Niccolls left Bombay with 37 persons in all for Rairi castle, which he was permitted to ascend on the 23rd. He interviewed Shambhuji on the 24th in the absence of Shivaji on a pilgrimage. On 2nd June Shivaji returned to the castle, and next day Niccolls was received in audience. The Raja

* The latter amounted to 7,894 pagodas, or £ 3,500 .

took the English envoy by the hand and showed him where he should sit, which was on the left hand near one of his side pillows, and then asked him his business. But in spite of the kindness of his manners, Shivaji did nothing to settle the dispute, and on the 6th dismissed Nicolls saying "he would send on an answer to the President by one of his own people named Bhimaji Pandit, a day or two after me." So Nicolls returned to Bombay (17th June) without achieving anything. (Nicolls' diary in O. C. 3787.)

Soon afterwards Bhimaji arrived at Bombay (21st) and after some discussions left with Narayan Shenvi (the interpreter of the English) to represent matters to his master. Late in September the two returned to Bombay with the following letter (O. C. 3952):—

From Shivaji Raja to the Hon'ble Gerald Aungier, Governor of Bombay: "I received your Honour's letter by Bhimaji Pandit and Narayan Shenvi, who manifested the good correspondence that your Honour doth use with me; likewise they treated with me about the business of Rajapur which I have answered and do send them again to treat with your Honour, my desire being only to keep the same correspondence which your Honour doth with me. I shall not say more but desire you that there may be no difference in our friendship, for I am very well acquainted of your Honour's prudence. I sent your Honour a present, which I desire you to accept of."

A Committee of the Bombay Council was appointed to meet on 1st October and receive Shivaji's objections to the Company's demands. On 3rd October the Maratha envoy offered 7,000 pagodas, which was refused. Later he increased it to 10,025 pagodas, to be allowed in custom duties, etc. (O. C. 3758; F. R. Surat, Vol. 106, Bombay to Surat, 29 September 1673).

Surat agreed with Bombay (10 July 1673) "to accept so small a sum as eight to ten thousand pagodas, which is not the quarter part the damage the nation sustained in Rajapur;" of this amount 8,000 pagodas were to be paid in money or goods and the balance in the form of exemption from all custom duties at the

port of Rajapur for five or at least three years. (*F. R. Surat*, Vol. 3.)

The evasions of Shivaji thoroughly disgusted the English merchants. As the Surat Council records (*F. R. Surat*, Vol. 3, 19 July 1673), "Seeing there is no probability of security from such a heathen, who while we are in treaty with him for satisfaction for our losses at Rajapur, gives orders for the robbing our factory at Hubli, we can think of no better way to recover the Hon'ble Company and nation's right than by taking what vessels belong to his ports." A little earlier, on 24th May, they had concluded, "It is absolutely necessary to break with him, but not at this time when we have war with the Dutch." But by 1st October an amicable settlement was in sight, "Shivaji holds a fair understanding with us and we with him, the old difference of [about] Rajapur being in a manner concluded upon honourable terms, to our advantage and reputation." (*O. C.* 3779.) The hopes of the English ran high; on 23rd October Bombay writes to Surat (*O. O.* 3870), "We are near a conclusion with our neighbour Shivaji for the old wrongs of Rajapur....The new controversy touching Hubli we have reserved for another time, ... so that if Shivaji attempts Surat you may be somewhat the safer, though we advise you not to trust him, yet we daresay if he hath a kindness for any nation it is for the English, and we believe he will not disturb any house where the English flag is."

But the treaty though fully agreed on between Shivaji's envoy and the English in the third week of October was not signed and confirmed by Shivaji himself for more than two months afterwards, as he was absent on a long campaign (*O. C.* 3910, Bombay to Co., 13 December 1673).

VI.

The English, therefore, decided to send a formal embassy to Shivaji to conclude this business, especially as his grand coronation was to take place in June 1674. Mr. Henry Oxinden was chosen for the mission, and Narayan Shenvi was sent to Raigarh (arriving there on 24 March), "to prepare business against Mr.

Henry Oxinden's arrival to him." (*F. R. Surat*, Vol. 3, Surat Consult., 16 April 1674).

Oxinden's account of his mission to Shivaji, from 13th May to 16th June, is well known to students of Bombay history, having been summarised in Fryer's *Travels* and also in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, (1st Ed.) Vol. XI, pages 366-368. I have the full text of his Letters and *Memorial or Narrative* before me, covering 16 foolscap folio pages and giving valuable details about Shivaji's coronation, the course of the negotiations, and the final agreement.

Shiva held out for some time on the question of restoring to their owners the ships of the English or of the inhabitants of Bombay wrecked on his coast, but on 11th June Naraji Pandit sent word to Oxinden that "the Raja had granted all our demands and articles, except our money passing current in his country." On the 12th all the ministers (*ashta pradhan*) signed the treaty, which was formally delivered to Oxinden at Narayan Pandit's house. (*F. R. Surat*, Vol. 88.)

In November Shivaji's request for being sold 50 great ordnance from 40 to 60 cwt. weight and 2 great brass guns, was politely declined by the English as "so public an action as that must needs provoke this king" [Aurangzib]. (Surat to Bombay, 13 November 1674).

VII.

In the terms of the above agreement, the English factory at Rajapur was reopened in 1675, with some difficulty, as the following letter from the Rajapur factors to Surat, dated 6th February 1675, shows :—

- "It was thought fit to send the broker with the President's letter to Annaji Pandit and the Subahdar, giving them notice of our arrival. Mr. Ward being earnest for our old house, Annaji told him that he should not have it, and that he did not care whether we stayed here or no; if we did not, his master would save 1,000 pagodas by it; and further will have it [that] the house was allowed for in that sum granted us by his master towards satisfaction for our losses. He is not only one of Shivaji's great favourites but Governor in Chief of all Konkan,

so that we cannot settle in any place but it is under his jurisdiction" (*F.R. Surat*, 88).

In March next the factors of Rajapur had an audience with Shivaji of which a detailed and very interesting report has been preserved (*Rajapur letter*, 20 April 1675. *F.R. Surat*, 88) :—

"The Rajah came on the 22nd [March] about midday, accompanied with abundance of horse and foot and about 150 *palankins*. So soon as we heard of his near approach, we went out of our tent and very near met him. He ordered his *palankin* to stand still, called us very near him, seemed very glad to see us and much pleased [that] we came to meet him, and said the sun being hot he would not keep us now, but in the evening he would send for us.

[23rd March ?] The Raja came. He stopped his *palankin* and called us to him. When we were pretty near him we made a stop, but he beckoned with his hand till I was up close with him. He diverted himself a little by taking in his hand the locks of my periwig and asked us several questions; at length asked us how we liked Rajapur and said he was informed we were not well pleased there, but bid us not be in the least dissatisfied for what [had] passed. He would order things for the future to our full satisfaction, and that we might be sure that ...no reasonable request we should make to him would he deny us.

The next morning [25th March] we were sent for again in the Rajah's name. We were admitted into his presence. I was placed so near him on his right hand that I could touch him. With him we continued about two hours, which was most part spent in answering many of his questions. At length we presented him our paper of desires [previously "translated into the country language"], which after had been read to him with a little pause, seriously looking on us, [he] said that it was all granted us. He would give us a *farman* for all". But the siege of Phonda which Shivaji began immediately afterwards, delayed the granting of such a *farman*.

VIII.

In September 1675 Mr. Samuel Austen went to Raigarh on an embassy from Bombay to demand satisfaction for the damage done to the Company's factory at Dharamgaon in Khandesh. This Shivaji refused to pay, saying that the factory was looted by "vagabonds and scouts without order or the knowledge of his general". He, however, "after a strict debate" gave his *qawf* (assurance of safety) to all the English factories "to prevent like injuries." (O. C. 4106.)

But the Rajapur damages long continued unpaid. On 19th July 1676 Surat wrote to Bombay suggesting that a "discreet and sober" Englishman with Giridhar-das should be sent to dun the Rajah for the money, as Narayan Shenvi was dilatory.

On 11th October news was received from Narayan Shenvi at the Maratha Court, that Shivaji was willing to satisfy his debt to the Company in "*vairats* or *batty*," and the Council agreed to accept them if no better terms could be secured. Six days later the Surat Council in disgust ordered the Rajapur factory to be withdrawn, since, "so long as that pirate and universal robber [Shivaji] lives, that hath no regard to friend nor foe, God nor man, there can be no security in any trade in his country." This was only a threat to Shivaji's ministers, and the factory was dissolved only in 1681.

Early in 1677 the patience of the English seemed to have been exhausted. Surat wrote to Bombay on 26 January 1677, "If Shivaji still continues to baffle you, we desire you to seize and make prize of some of his vessels belonging to Dabhul, Chaul or Kalian or any other of his ports, letting the men have their liberty and taking care that none of the goods be embezzled or made away, for this will be the only way to make him rightly understand himself." (F. R. Surat, 89.) The threat, however, was not carried out. The people of Bombay were entirely dependent on Shivaji's territory on the mainland for their fuel, timber, fresh provisions and cattle, and he could also have effectually stopped the passage of their export merchandise

across the Konkan and Kanara coast-strip, the whole of which was now in his hands. He, on his part, depended on Bombay for salt.

In January 1678, as we learn from a Surat letter, "for Shivaji's former debt, they [i.e. the Rajapur factors] are forced to take betel nuts as Shivaji's ministers will rate it at." (*F. R.*, Surat, 89.) But even thus the indemnity was not paid. The Surat Council, in April, May and July, express their indignation at the deceitful fair promises of Shivaji's ministers and that Rajah's evasion of the demands made upon him, and decide to withdraw the factories at Karwar, Hubli and Rajapur, if matters did not improve. (*Ibid.*) On 18th March 1680 Bombay writes to Surat, "we are very glad the management of the business with Shivaji is to your liking. He hath confirmed all ... A. hundred *khandi* of betel nut is sent us on account of our demand for satisfaction of the two vessels lost." (*F. R.* Surat, 108.) On 5th April following the Rajah died.

Shivaji never paid the promised indemnity as long as he lived, and the Rajapur factory was closed in Shambhuji's reign (December 1682 or January 1683.) (*F. R.* Surat, 91.)

VI—Sugar Industry in Ancient India.

By Rai Bahadur Joges Chandra Ray, M.A.

In view of the present efforts to increase the total output of sugar in the country it may be useful to glance at the industry in ancient times. My information is meagre, but sufficient to indicate some of the broad facts. It will be seen that, as in other industries so in this, there has not been any marked improvement since remote times. As a result of the study, however, two facts of great importance at the present moment come out for special notice, viz., the suitability of Bihar and Northern Bengal including the western portion of Assam for the cultivation of sugarcane, and the desirability of preparing the *gud* of Hindi instead of the *gud* of Bengali for home consumption. The reader is requested to note the difference between the two products which are often confounded. The *gud* of Hindi is the same as the *gul* of Marathi. It is the dried-up juice of the cane without any attempt at crystallization; while the *gud* of Bengal and Orissa is generally a mixture of liquid molasses and solid crystals. The proportion of these two of course varies; but unless there is some solid in the form of crystals large enough to be easily seen, the product is not *gud*. Hence the confusion. To avoid it I shall use the word *gur*, as is sometimes done by European writers, to denote the Bengal *gud*. But more of this later on.

2. The Sanskrit word for sugar, whether refined or not, is *sarkarā*. In fact, the word, sugar, is no other than the Arabic *sakar* and Hindi *sakkar*, an easy corruption of the Sanskrit word. In the Vedas it denotes 'gritty particles', a meaning retained in later Sanskrit literature in which the word came to denote also sugar on account of its crystals. Unless the substance is crystalline, it is not *sarkarā*. We may go further and assert that the crystals

must be small, say, as small as sand grains. When these are large, as in candy, the word *upa'a* which usually denotes crystalline quartz, is used in Sanskrit. The history of these two words implies that the knowledge of converting saccharine juice into the crystalline form was much later than the Vedas.

3. In fact there is no mention of any saccharine substance in the Vedas other than honey. The latter being a natural product requiring no preparation, as it naturally came into use. There occurs, however, the word, *ikshu*, 'sugarcane', in the Vedas, and there was a very ancient family of the name of *Ikshvāku* celebrated in the Rāmāyaṇa. The question arises whether the Vedic Aryans cultivated the cane or knew it as a weed. The latter hypothesis falls to the ground if we assume that they inhabited the Punjab or even the United Provinces when they came to know the cane. For, though the original home of the plant is unknown, it could not be there, the plant preferring hot and humid climates as in Eastern Bengal. (See also Decandolle.) Therefore we conclude that the Vedic Aryans while living in the west of Northern India cultivated sugarcane. No one appears to have traced the reason of the family name of *Ikshvāku*. I suggest that the ancestor of the family had a sugarcane plantation, probably extensive, and his descendants thus came to be known as of the family of the sugarcane planter.*

We do not know whether the cane used to be chewed merely, or pressed, or whether its juice dried up for future use. The

* Cf. the word, *ikshvāku*, 'a twining plant'. It is so-called because it surrounds the sugarcane, i.e., twines round it. See Amara-kosh, and its annotations. A similar derivation may be easily given to denote one who fences round the cane (to secure it against the ravages of its enemies). I am aware that this is a startling suggestion, chiefly because we never thought of the word, *ikshu*, occurring in the Vedas, and because the dignity of the family is lowered if we assume it to have originated from a sugarcane planter. But some of the Vedic Aryans must surely have been cultivators. The word *ikshu* is derived from the root, *iśh* 'to desire'; the people longed for it on account of its sweet juice. Compare also *iśhika* and *iśhu*, 'a reed', hence 'an arrow'; *iśhu*, 'one possessed of sap', hence the mouth of *śring*, because it was a wet mouth. So to the Aryans of old *ikshu* was a reed possessing a sap which was desired. In Persian it is *nai sahar*, 'a reed of sugar'. Strabo, the Greek geographer (1 B.C.), vaguely described the plant as the Indian honey-bearing reed.

absence of words to denote a press, *ikṣū-gaṇṭra*, or extraction of the juice cannot be taken to indicate that the knowledge did not extend beyond the plant. We have, however, positive evidence of the cultivation of the plant and manufacture of *guḍa* in the Sūtra works (e.g., Baudhāyana Sūtra, 1,5,140 and 142) and also in Pāṇini. We therefore conclude that India has been cultivating sugarcane and preparing *guḍa* for at least three thousand years.

4. *Guḍa*, as we shall presently see, was the inspissated juice of the sugarcane. There was evidently some sort of machine for the extraction of the juice. We do not know what it was like. But once the juice was obtained it was observed that it does not keep sweet, and the easy solution of the difficulty was found in evaporation by heat. *Guḍa* was thus the first product of the manufacture in the earliest times.

5. This fact explains why the injunction is to use *guḍa* when honey is not available. In worshipping the deities and offering oblations to the ancestors, and in fact in all Hindu rituals and semi-rituals honey is preferred, and next to it *guḍa*, because I fancy the latter was the earliest substitute known. Those who know anything of the reason of the preference of certain articles in Hindu rituals will understand why sugary products other than *guḍa* are not permissible. The old in all countries hold their sway even when better substitutes are known.

6. At the time and in the country of Charaka (6th century B. C.?) two varieties of sugarcane were known, viz. *paṇḍraka* and *vamsaka*. The first name has undoubtedly given rise to the modern vernacular names of *paṇḍiā*, *paṇḍā*, *paṇḍi*, *ṣāri*, etc., a celebrated variety cultivated in almost all parts of the country. It is as good for chewing as for pressing and manufacture of *guḍa* and other products. The name, *vamsaka*, of the other variety has probably given *vamsi* of the Bombay Presidency.

7. The name, *paṇḍraka*, leads us to a remarkable piece of history. It is asserted by all commentators of Sanskrit lexicons that the variety is so named because it used to be grown in the country called Pundra, or Northern Bengal. It was a country

inhabited by the Pauṇḍrakas. Manu says that the people were originally military, but became degraded on account of their change of occupation. The caste is now known as Pūḍā and Pod in Bengal, and is mainly agricultural. A pertinent question arises here:—Did the name of the country give its name to the cane, or the name of the cane to the country? Either was possible. We know plants whose names have been derived from those of the places from which they were first obtained. This is natural, and we may say that the *paunḍra* cane derived its name from that of the country in which it was first found by the Aryans. On the other hand, there are instances of the name of places having originated from some striking natural features. This is common enough in all languages. Why was the country, Pauṇḍra, so called? Etymologists tell us that the word is derived from the root *puṇḍ*, 'to pound', 'to reduce to powder' (cf. the words, 'pound' and 'powder'). From this we infer that there was something in the country which used to be cut or pounded and possibly something which used to be reduced to powder, which attracted the notice of the Aryans who first went there. There appears therefore just a possibility of the country having been named from the fact of its possessing sugarcane plantations. In his Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Monier Williams gives the following meanings of the word, *paunḍra* which is written also as *paunḍraṅka*: a species of sugarcane of a pale straw colour; a particular mixed caste of hereditary sugar-boilers; name of a people. The second meaning points to the fact that the name of the country had some connection with the *paunḍā* cane. In fact we learn from the same authority that *puṇḍra* denoted "the country of the sugarcane". We do not know how the cane was pressed. But it is curious to note that at places in the District of Rangpur, and, I am informed, of also Benares, the juice is extracted even now in oil-mills, known as *ghāsi*. This must be a relic of the past when the cane used to be cut into small pieces and pressed as oil-seeds. The roller crushing machine appears to have been invented later, probably when cotton cultivation extended and required a suitable ginning machine.

8. There are, however, other evidences to show that the original seat of the cultivation of the Paundā cane was Northern Bengal, and that at this place the Aryans became acquainted with *guḍa*. There was a place famous in the history of Bengal bearing the name Paundra-varḍhana, where not only the Paundras lived, but also, according to the lexicon of Vāchaspati, the *paundra* cane flourished. Still more remarkable is the fact that the place was known also as Gauḍa. The latter name occurs in Pāṇini (say, 7th century B.C.). According to this authority, Gauḍa comes from *guḍa*. Connecting all these we have hardly any doubt as to the earliest place of cultivation of the Paundā cane and of the manufacture of *guḍa* having been Northern Bengal including the eastern portion of Bihar.*

9. Charaka briefly describes the following products: "When the juice of sugarcane is evaporated down to one-fourth, one-third, or one-half the volume, the product is *kṣhudra-guḍa*. *Guḍa* is a purified product and contains very little impurities. *Matsyaṇḍī* is purer than *guḍa*, *khaṇḍa* purer than *matsyaṇḍī*,

* In the *Commercial Products of India* Sir George Watt writes under Saccharum: "The ancient name for Bengal is Gaura, a word supposed by some to have denoted the country of *gur*, and hence it has been affirmed that in Bengal originated the art of sugar manufacture. This seems highly improbable, since *guḍa* occurs in the classic works of India prior to the Aryan conquests of Bengal." I am afraid the learned author has unconsciously gone beyond his data. For, though the earliest mention of *guḍa* is found in the Sanskrit works of the Sūtra period (say, 10th to 6th century B. C.) when Pāṇini lived, the name of the Paundras occurs in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, a work undoubtedly older than the Sūtras by several centuries. The people are described there as the degraded descendants of Viśvāmitra, one of the Vedic bards. In the Atharva-Veda, I am informed, there are the names of the countries, Anga (Bhagalpur) and Magadha (Bihar), which adjoin, if not form a part of, the old Paundra country. In the Aitareya Aranyaka of the Vedic period, there is the name Vanga, the Eastern Bengal. In the Mahābhārata, Paundra, a King of the Paundras and regarded as a son of Vasu-deva, the father of Krishna, took part in the war. The Vedic Aryans of later date than the Rig-Veda were therefore undoubtedly aware of Western and Northern Bengal. The fact that they applied the word *śarkarā* in a new sense to denote sugar shows that it was new to them. In the same way they used the word *guḍa*, because it was made into balls. Of this I shall have to say a great deal later on.

and *sarkarā* purer than *śharaḍa*. *Sarkarā* is the purest form. The cooling property of these varies with their purity. The *sarkarā* obtained from *guḍa* acts as an aphrodisiac. It is nutritious and fattening, and heals wounds."

10. This list includes all the products known in ancient times. Chāpakya and Suśruta, for instance, enumerate the same five in the same order. But while the first does not describe their properties since his was not a medical work while those of Charaka and Suśruta were, the latter adds many new properties to those given by the former. Chāpakya is silent on the varieties of cane cultivated, but does not omit to tell us that its cultivation is both troublesome and expensive. *

11. Suśruta, who I believe flourished in Magadha and probably in the same century (4 B.C.) with Chāpakya, shows advanced knowledge. He distinguishes two grades of *guḍa*; recognizes twelve varieties of cane; specifies the five products definitely. His inferior grade of *guḍa* contained *kṣhārā*, 'impurities', and the superior grade none. The *sarkarā* from which no impurities could be separated was regarded as the best. From this we learn that the art of clarifying the juice and refining sugar was known and practised at least about the time of Charaka and Suśruta.

12. The five products have been fully described in Bhāva-prakāśa, a medical work of the 16th century A.D. "When the juice of sugarcane is boiled, and a thick syrup is obtained, it is *phāṇṣīta*. If boiling is continued, and a solid mixed with a small amount of liquid is obtained, it is *matsyaṇṣī*. It is so-called because a

* He groups the five products under the generic name, *kṣhārā*. I was not a little perplexed at this, since the word usually denotes an alkali, this was coming from Arabic *al*, 'the', and *Kali*, an Arabic corruption of Sanskrit *kṣhara*. Charaka helped me out of the difficulty by reminding us that whatever drops, trickles, or oozes out is a *kṣhārā*. Hence that which oozes out of a soil (e.g., 'sève') or drops down through a filter (e.g., alkali from plant ashes) is as much a *kṣhārā* as the juice of the sugarcane which trickles down the crushing rollers, or the molasses which drops from raw sugar. However we may justify the name, by Chāpakya, it is certainly peculiar, and is not met with elsewhere except in a restricted sense in Suśruta.

liquid-like honey [molasses] can slowly trickle from it. If the syrup is boiled down to a solid lump, the product is *guḍa*. But in the country of Gaṇḍa the people apply this name to *matsyaṇḍī*. *Khaṇḍa* is like sand grains and white. *Sarkara* is also called *śatū* [lit. 'white']. Besides these five of the old writers, Bhāva-prakāśa mentions two others, viz. *pushpa-sitā* and *sitopalā*.

13. This work composed in the Punjab gives the Hindi names of the seven products. Thus *phāṇita* is *chhová*, *matsyaṇḍī* is *khaṇḍa rāv*, *khaṇḍa* is *khār*, *pushpa-sitā* is the same as *guḍ-sarkarā* and *sitopalā* *misrī*. *Phāṇita* the *kshudrā guḍa* of Charaka corresponds in characters to the 'golden syrup' of the grocers, *guḍa* to 'concrete' or lump sugar, *khaṇḍa* to muscovado, *sarkarā*, *guḍa-sarkarā*, or *pushpa-sitā* to soft sugar, and *sitopalā* to candied sugar. It is to be noted that though the word, candy, is derived from the Arabic *kand*, which is from Sanskrit *khaṇḍa*, the latter does not denote candied sugar. It is muscovado but of larger crystals.

14. It will be now easy to follow the classification adopted by Charaka and other early writers. It is based on the stages of manufacture. Thus

Evaporation of cane juice

Complete	...	...	...	<i>guḍa</i>
Incomplete	{	no solid separates...	...	<i>phāṇita</i>
		some separates	...	<i>matsyaṇḍī</i>
		solid separated	...	<i>khaṇḍa</i>
		,, purified	...	<i>sarkarā</i>

Bhāva-prakāśa bases his classification on the characters of the products. This is practically useful to consumers, who do not care to know the manufacture, but are guided by the obvious characters. Thus

Wholly liquid	...	...	...	<i>phāṇitā</i> .
Partly solid	...	...	...	<i>matsyaṇḍī</i>
Wholly solid	{	amorphous	...	...
		
		crystalline	soft	{ low grade ... <i>khaṇḍa</i>
				{ high grade ... <i>sarkarā</i>
			hard	{ higher grade ... <i>pushpa-sitā</i>
				{ ... <i>sitopalā</i>

15. Indian writers not less often than Europeans get confounded in the use of the word *guḍa*. The reason is that this word whether pronounced *guḍ*, or *gul*, or *gur* in the vernaculars denote two different substances, according to the country of their use. The Sanskrit *guḍa* is the same as *gula* (*ḍ* and *l* being interchangeable). The more usual Sanskrit form is *gola*, 'a ball' (cf. 'globe'). When the Aryans came to know 'lump sugar', which they found prepared and sold as balls, they naturally extended the meaning of their word, *gola*, and applied it to the new article. In Marathi this is called *gul* and in Hindi *guḍ*. In the United Provinces the balls are often made very large, sometimes weighing a maund. In Bihar (and also in the Punjab and Ganjam) it is sometimes prepared in the form of a slab, when it is known as *chakki-guḍ* (*chakki* means a mill-stone). In Orissa the sugar industry is limited and still in a primitive state. I have not seen *guḍ* in this province except what is imported either from Bihar or from Ganjam. In Bengal it is prepared in a very limited quantity, so limited indeed that many do not know it. It is known in Western Bengal as *bhirā* or *bhirā guḍ*. In Calcutta it is sold under the name of *bheli*.* Of all places in Bengal that I know of, *bhirā* or *bheli* is more largely prepared in

* The name *bheli* is applied to it on account of its shape. The word is a corruption of Sanskrit *bhṛīa*, kettle drum. Thickened syrup is poured into top-shaped earthen vessels. The mass of sugar thus prepared goes by the name of the vessel, just as *nāgarī guḍ* by the name of the earthen vessel, *nāgarā*, from Arabic *nakkārā*, 'a kettle drum'.

It may as well be useful to give the origin of the vernacular names of the other products. A thick syrup is obtained in two ways. If it be by partial evaporation of the cane juice, it is *rāv* in Hindi, *rāvā* in Panjabi, *jhōlā* in Bengali and *pāniguḍā* in Oriya. The word *rāv* or *rāvā* is from Sanskrit *drava*, 'a liquid' and *jhōlā* from *jala*, 'water', as *pānī* in Oriya. If the syrupy liquid is obtained as molasses dropped from a partly crystallized product, it is *chhōvā* in Hindi and Panjabi and *sof* in Bengali. Both the words are from Sanskrit *chhyuta* 'dropped', or *chhyota* 'trickling'. When the product is partly liquid and partly crystalline, it is *khaṇḍa-rāv*, though *khaṇḍ* is often omitted in Hindi, and *kāṛ-māt* in Bengali. *Kāṛ* is the same as *khaṇḍa*, and means pieces, and *māt* from *mada* 'honey.' Usually, however, this goes by the name of *guḍ* or *gur* in Bengal and Orissa, a wrong use of an old word. I need not discuss the other names.

Northern Bengal, and in balls, again pointing this place as the early seat of *guḍa* manufacture.

The universal misuse of the name, *guḍa*, in Bengal shows that it ceased long to prepare it and turned its attention to the next higher grade, viz. *matsyaṇḍī* of Sanskrit, and *khār rāv* of Hindi, as the starting point. This is not wise economically, but shows the progress of the art towards refined sugar.

16. We do not know how the ancients clarified their juice or refined their sugar. Very likely the method was much the same as obtains now in Bengal and elsewhere. As far as my information goes, boiling juice is clarified by simply skimming, off the scum which rises to the surface.* The sugar-boilers of Bengal, who are professional men, do sometimes add milk, but only on special occasions. They attach more importance to the race of the sugarcane and to the factors of timely cutting and pressing and of boiling the juice than to the addition of extraneous defecators. Yet the best *gur* of Bengal is as good as muscovado or even candy, though not white.

17. The next processes adopted relate to the conversion of *gur* into inferior or superior grades of sugar. The names for these

* Sir George Watt writes that the mucilage of certain plants such as *Hibiscus*, *Kydia*, etc., is added to the boiling syrup with a view to bind up the impurities. I have never seen this in Bengal. Mr. S. M. Hadi in his *Improvements in native methods of sugar manufacture* (United Provinces Agri. bulletin No. 19, 1907) recommends the mucilage of *Deula* along with *saji*. The botanical name of the plant is not given. But as he recommends *Hibiscus Esculentus* also, I take *deula* to possess a mucilage similar to that of the *Hibiscus*. If I am correct, I gravely doubt the utility of the mucilage. It dissolves in boiling water, and also in water containing an alkali like *saji* or soda. It being of the nature of gum does not coagulate on heating, and cannot mechanically hold entangled much of the albuminoid of the juice. The scum which rises on the addition of the mucilage is chiefly derived from the latter, while a greater part remains behind in solution. The result is practically an introduction of undesirable organic matters. I hope some one will estimate the proportion, and investigate the keeping quality of the *raḥ* so prepared with the mucilage and *saji*. As far as I can see it is the soda of the *saji* that is effective, first, neutralizing the acid of the juice, and, second, removing the colour to some extent. The use of *saji* or soda must, however, be limited, or the *raḥ* loses its keeping quality. It is well known that mineral matters added to a sugar solution favours fermentation.

somewhat vary in different provinces. In Western Bengal (Burdwan Division) the inferior grade is known as *dalua* and the superior as *dhura*. For the first the uncrystallizable molasses of *gur* is drained away, and the solid left behind is placed in a basket and covered with a layer of the aquatic weed *Vallisneria* (and sometimes *Chara*). The plant evaporates, and the vapour washes away the adhering molasses to a depth of one or two inches. The washed layer of the *gur* is scraped away and fresh weed laid on. The process is repeated until the whole quantity has been washed with vapour. It is next pounded and exposed to the sun for drying and bleaching. It is now a yellowish powder, and is known as *dalua*, or *dalo*.* The method though tedious is certainly ingenious and efficient.

18. *Dalua* is sold to confectioners, or refined into whiter sugar by them not only for their use in sweets but also for consumers. The refining process consists in dissolving the *dalua* in water in a boiling pan. The scum which rises is skimmed off. Cows milk, of course fresh, diluted with water is next sprinkled on the edge of the boiling syrup. Its albumen coagulating by the heat encloses and carries with it much of the suspended impurities. The process is continued until scum ceases to appear. In the absence of milk the water of cocoanut

* It is so called because it resembles a lump of earth when pressed (from Skt. *dala*). It has long been a question whether the weeds have any bleaching property or whether their action is purely mechanical. It is to be remembered that the weeds are not submerged under water and exposed to the sun, so that they might give off oxygen. They are left to dry (on *gur*) in the shade. In these conditions I have failed to detect either ozone or hydrogen peroxide. Traces of the latter may be detected by means of a dilute solution of tannin and ferrous sulphate. But mere traces cannot be of much use in bleaching. On the other hand, I imitated the washing action of the weed and found no difference in the result. I took *gur* in a large funnel and placed some glass rods about an inch above the surface of the *gur*. A piece of filter paper was laid on the rods and kept moist by means of a strand of cotton with its end dipped in a jar of water. I believe a similar arrangement may be usefully made to prepare *dalua*. Of the two weeds, *Chara* dries up somewhat more quickly than *Vallisneria*, and this may be one of the reasons for preferring the latter. In some parts of Orissa and also of Bombay clay from ponds is laid on *gur* with the same object. In the sugar factories of West Indies "clayeing" was in vogue until recently.

is used with the same result. Coconut is not plentiful everywhere, and probably the people living near the sea-coast where it is a common article of food first discovered that its water coagulates like milk. On thickening, the syrup is allowed to crystallize. The crystals as usually formed are small, but lighter in colour than *dalua*. The sugar is known as *bhura* in Bengali and *pushpa-sita* in Sanskrit, the highest grade of sugar of ancient times.*

19. Knowing how slowly India moves in the matter of its industries there is hardly any reason to suppose that the products now manufactured differed from those of ancient times. I analysed samples, and the results are given below.

(1) *Phanita* (true *rāb* or *rāv* of Hindi and *jholā* of Bengali). It is prepared for immediate consumption. The best quality possesses the colour and consistency of honey, a pleasant flavour, and sweet taste. The composition varies according to the quality of the juice and degree of concentration, which, according to Charaka, might range from one-fourth to one-half the volume of the juice and probably the sugar content was from 40 to 50 %.

(2) *Guḍa* (*guḍ* of Hindi, *gul* of Marathi and *bheli* of Hindi, Bengali and Oriya). Seeing how it was misunderstood in Bengal and even by Hindu physicians, I procured samples from various places. All were straw-coloured, somewhat plastic and hygroscopic, and possessed the peculiar smell of raw sugar.

(a) *Bheli* from Arambagh, Hugli. It looked cleaner. No crystals could be seen with the naked eye. A few could be

* It is so called, because it resembles fine dust, Sanskrit *dhuli*, 'dust'. The name *pushpa-sita* signifies sugar as light as flower and of pale colour. It was known in Bengali as *padma-sini* until lately. I derive the word, *Chini*, the common name for all grades of sugar, not from *China*, China, nor from the grains of *China* grass 'millet', but from Persian *shirini*, corrupted into *sinni*. It is the offering of sugar to the comparatively modern deity, *Satya-pir*, an emblem of the amalgamation of Hindu *Narayana* with Mahomedan *Pir*, a saint. Sugar-candy is *sitopala* in Sanskrit, since it resembles gravel. It is *misir* in the vernacular, from Persian *Misir* and Sanskrit *Misra*, 'Egypt'. Charaka mentions *sitopala*, but not in its proper place. I do not meet with it in *Bhūratā*, probably it was a rare article at the time.

seen under a microscope. It had

Cane sugar	...	78.
Invert sugar	...	16.
Other organic	...	0.8
Ash	...	1.8
Water	...	8.4

100.0

(The 'other organic' was found by difference.)

(b) Sample procured from Calcutta, best quality, said to have been imported from Saharanpur. It contained a large number of small crystals.

Cane sugar	...	79.0
Invert sugar	...	11.4

(c) Sample from the Cuttack bazar, said to have been obtained from Ganjam.

Cane sugar	...	62.
Invert sugar	...	18.

(d) Sample from the Cuttack bazar, said to have been imported from Gaya. It contained minute crystals.

Cane sugar	...	67.8
Invert sugar	...	22.2

(e) Sample from the Cuttack bazar, said to have been imported from Gaya. It was not clean, and contained bits of megass, straw, and sand.

Cane sugar	...	65.
Invert sugar	...	24.
Other organic	...	0.4
Sand	...	0.4
Ash	...	2.2
Water	...	7.5

100.0

The proportion of invert sugar is strikingly variable owing to many factors, such as the quality of juice, delay in boiling, presence of impurities, duration of boiling, etc.

(3) *Matsyandī* (*khār-rāb* of United Provinces, *gur* of Bengal and Orissa).

(a) Sample from the Cuttack Government Farm. It was prepared from "mungo" cane recently tried in the Farm.

Fresh juice was limed and then boiled in a shallow evaporating pan of iron. The *gur* was straw-coloured, but the crystals rather small. It had

Cane sugar	...	76.3
Invert sugar	...	7.2
Other organic	...	1.2
Ash	...	1.8
Water	...	13.0

100.0

(b) Sample from the Cuttack bazar, declared to be of the best quality of Orissa. But even the best are of dark colour, though the crystals are large. The sample contained

Cane sugar	...	65.3
Invert sugar	...	13.9
Other organic	...	1.4
Ash	...	0.4
Water	...	19.7

100.0

(4) *Khaṇḍa* (*khār* of Hindi and Bengali, *kanda* of Oriya). It is drier and purer than *gur*. It is prepared either directly, or from the best quality of *gur* by draining away the molasses, or by repeating the process of crystallization and removing the molasses, if the *gur* is of inferior quality. The people of Orissa prefer *kanda* to all other products including white sugar and candy, as it is regarded to be most clean. Hence it is always available in the bazars. The sample examined showed

Cane sugar	...	88.4
Invert sugar	...	9.5
Other organic	...	0.1
Ash	...	0.8
Water	...	1.2

100.0

Except in water it was as good as the best *gur* of West Bengal, but darker. Compared with this *kanda*, a sample from Jeasore prepared from date palm juice was found decidedly superior. The colour was dark brown but the crystals were

larger. Evidently it was from the best sample of date palm *gur*. It had

Cane sugar	...	97.
Invert sugar	...	2.4

(5) *Śurkarā* has become a generic name for all kinds of sugar. Probably *dalua* was the *guḍa-sarkarā* of Sanskrit. It is not sold in the local bazar. I prepared some from good *gur* in the way described before. It showed

Cane sugar	...	97.
Invert sugar	...	1.

(6) *Pushpa-sitā* (*padma-chini*, *phul-chini* and *bhurā* of Bengal). I believe what is sold as *kāśī-chīni* (the *chīni* of Benares) represents *pushpa-sitā* of old. A sample from the local bazar was examined. It was fine-grained and light-coloured. It gave

Cane sugar	...	99.
Invert sugar	...	0.3
Ash	...	0.2
Water	...	0.5

100.0

(7) *Sito-palā* or *misri* from West Bengal and prepared from *dalua*. It was brown and showed

Cane sugar	...	99.
Invert sugar	...	0.5
Ash	...	0.2
Water	...	0.2

99.9

Kāśī-chīni is thus purer than country candy.

20. Susruta tells us that "refined *guḍa* when aged is most wholesome". I suppose by 'wholesome' he understands 'easy of digestion'. I could not test this, because I could not procure pure *guḍa*, i.e. pure *bheli*, and wait a year. *Guḍa* as understood in Sanskrit is almost unknown in Bengal and Orissa, yet the Hindu physicians have to prescribe it to their patients. They are therefore obliged to age *gur* for the purpose. Unfortunately they forget that *gur* is not the *guḍa* of Sanskrit medicine. Wealthy people often keep *gur* for ageing and distribution to the poor.

I procured a sample from a wealthy *math* of Puri. From appearance it was evident that it had been originally the common impure and dark-coloured *gur* of Orissa. At the time of examination it had been darker, soft as mud, and acquired a slightly bitter and sour taste. The crystals were small, and there was at one place a growth of mould fungus. The sample contained—

Cane sugar	...	58
Invert sugar	...	18
Other organic	...	3.8
Ash	...	4.8
Water	...	15.4

There had been an increase in the proportion of invert sugar and "other organic", a fact easy to understand. The greater the proportion of impurities and water is in a sample, whether *gur* or *guḍa*, the larger is the increase. Hindu physicians sometimes age fresh *gur* by exposure to the sun for a week. Sunlight together with increased temperature probably hastens the conversion of cane sugar into invert sugar.*

21. It will be out of place to describe the uses and properties on the human system of the sugary products known in ancient India. Hindu physicians appear to have made the best use of the organ of taste, which did the work of modern chemical analysis. An instance is found in estimating cane sugar in *gur*, *khār* and *chīni*. Susruta says that of these the second is

* Of course we cannot say whether the object of ageing is merely to increase the amount of invert sugar. But this increase probably measures the change which makes the *guḍa* favourable for assimilation. We have numerous instances of our food becoming with certain age easy of digestion and possibly therefore of assimilation. We all know the difference between old and fresh rice, old and fresh pulses, old and fresh potato, etc. Subtler than chemical analysis is their action on the digestive organs which quickly appreciate 'the state'. That molecular aggregation plays an important part in determining the properties of a body is well recognized. But there is yet no means of detecting, far less estimating, what may be broadly described as 'the state'. It is interesting to note that Patanjali, an ancient propounder of the Hindu Yoga philosophy, lays emphasis not on characters and tests only, but also on 'the state' of the substance under examination.

sweeter than the first, and the third than the second; that is to say the degree of sweetness varies with the proportion of cane sugar as we have found above.*

22. Suśruta enumerates twelve races or varieties of cane, while Charaka only two. They differed both in time and place. The twelve races were the following:—*paunḍraka*, *bhīruka*, *vamśaka*, *śataporaka*, *kāntāra*, *tāpasa*, *kāsthā*, *sūchi-patraka*, *naipāla*, *dirgha-patraka*, *nila-poraka* and *kośakāra*. Of these Charaka had *pauṇḍraka* and *vamśaka* (6). It will be hazardous to trace from mere names the races now cultivated. But the similarity with some of the vernacular names is very striking. There is no doubt about *paunḍiā* or *paunḍā*.† Possibly the *syāmsārā* of Western Bengal and *dhalsundar* of Dacca are sub-races of the same. *Vamśaka* is represented by *vamśi* of Poona; *bhīruka* by *bhūri* of Surat (and possibly *bhurli* of Dumraon); *kāntāra* by *kāntāri* of Orissa and Bihar and *gāṇḍāri* or *gāṇḍeri* of Dacca and United Provinces; *kāsthā* by *kāthā* of Lahore and probably by *khari* of Burdwan and Orissa; and *kośakāra* by *kusair* of Dacca and *kasvār* of Lucknow. It is difficult to trace the other names. *Naipāla* denotes a race from Nepal, *tāpasa* a wild or hardy race, *sūchi-patraka* having long linear leaves ending in an acute point, and *dirgha-patraka* very long leaves. Taking *poraka* as a corruption of Sanskrit *parva*, 'an internode', *śataporaka* denotes a race with very short internodes and *nīlaporaka* with blue or purple internodes. The last might have been the ancestor

* I believe very few have thought of estimating quality by taste. Here is the result of a trial. A 25 per cent. solution (*sherbet*) of each of the following was prepared and given to three gentlemen to taste. They were unanimous in classifying them into four grades according to the degree of sweetness as follows:—

White sugar and candy (foreign imported article)	...	1st class
Palm candy and cane candy	... ..	2nd "
Bengal <i>gur</i> and Cuttack <i>kanda</i>	... ..	3rd "
Ganjam <i>bheli</i>	... ..	4th "

The market prices also varied accordingly, except of Cuttack *kanda* on account of the greater preference shown to this in Orissa. *Bheli* was the cheapest.

† Mr. Hadi was entirely mistaken in regarding the *paunḍa* canes as foreign. Probably he was equally mistaken in accepting the *chīn* canes as indigenous. Vide Watt's *Com. Proq. India*, page 936.

of the modern *kājālā* or *kājli* of Bengal and Orissa. Suśruta classified the twelve races thus:—" *paundraka* and *bhīruka* yield more sugar; *vamsaka* is similar in yield but gives more invert sugar (*kshāra*); next to this are the *sata-poraka*, *kāntāra*, *tāpasa* and *kāshthā*. *Sūchipatra*, *nīlapora*, *naipāla* and *dīrghapatra* are slightly astringent in taste [on account of tannin?]. The yield of cane sugar is also large from *kośakāra*. The canes are sweetest at the lower portion and less sweet at the middle. The juice of the top portion and of nodes contains more ash."* There were other varieties which were either not known to Suśruta or began to be cultivated later. For instance, Amarkośha mentions *pundra* and *kāntāra*, and says that there are others. Kshirasvāmī names some of these. As to the soil considered suitable for cane we have faint indications in such words as *ikshu-matī* and *ikshudā*, the names of two rivers. Probably the silt deposit of the rivers was productive of good cane. The word *ikshu-vātikā* shows that the fields of sugarcane used to be fenced round as now. The machine for crushing the cane was called *ikshu-yantra* or *ikshu-pīḍaka*.

23. In concluding this brief account of sugar industry, I wish to repeat that Magadha and Gaur, i.e. Bihar and Northern Bengal, used to produce some of the best canes in ancient times. The suitability of the soil and climate of Northern Bengal has recently been proved by the successful cultivation of thick canes in Assam, which once formed a part of Northern Bengal. Dr. Barber, the Government sugarcane expert, is of opinion that "the varieties in the great sugarcane areas of the north of India are among the poorest in the world" (*Agri. in India*. J. Mackenna). Yet of the 25 lakhs of acres of land under sugarcane in 1913-14, 14 lakhs were in the United Provinces and 4 lakhs in the Punjab! This means that sugarcane is for the most part cultivated in those tracts of which the climate is not suitable.

* I tested this by taking the local *kājli*. Sugar proportion in internodes and nodes varies as 8 : 7 and ash as 3 : 4. That the nodes contain less sugar is easily found by chewing. I have no personal knowledge of most of the canes, and am indebted for the vernacular names to Mollison's and Mukerji's *Indian Agriculture*.

This is economically unsound. Let the Punjab and United Provinces grow those crops for which the climate is favourable, such as wheat, and Bihar, Bengal and Assam sugarcane. The other point to which I wish to draw the attention of the cultivators of cane is that it is not economical to convert the juice into *gur* for home consumption. The manufacture of *gur* requires better knowledge of the art than that of *kheli*, the *gud* of Hindustan. Every quality of cane juice is not suitable for *gur*, but is so for *kheli*. The latter keeps well long, and is easily packed and transported. A country which cannot produce ordinary *kheli* sufficient for its own consumption should not, in my opinion, turn a part into high grade sugar, occasioning waste for which there is not much use at present.

24. There are two other kinds of sugar mentioned in Sanskrit medical works. One is 'honey sugar' (*madhu sarkarā*). When fresh honey is kept a few days, a deposit takes place. This consisting of small crystals is known as 'honey sugar' (glucose).

25. Both Charaka and Suśruta have described a second sugar, called *yavāsa sarkarā*. It is said to be astringent, sweet and bitter, and obtained from the *yavāsa* tree. Amara-kosha thus describes the tree: "It is gregarious, affecting dry and sandy barren lands. It is thorny, and its roots are very long. It is common near the western sea (Bombay coast). It exudes a juice." The plant has been thus correctly identified with *Alhagi maurorum* of botanists. Roxburgh called it *Hedysarum alhagi* and wrote that "in the neighbourhood of Candahar and Mirat and the bank of Chilchuk, manna is said to be procured from it. This substance exudes from the plant after spring rains and is gathered by merely shaking it off."*

* The late Dr. E. C. Dutt wrote that "there is no mention in Sanskrit of any saccharine exudation or manna obtained from this plant (*Med. Med. of Hindus*)." The remark has been repeated in the *Medicinal Plants of India* recently published from Pāṇini office, Allahabad. Evidently the learned authors missed the name *rodanī*, 'weeping', given to the plant and the significance of the word *sarkarā*.

26. Śuśruta, and not Charaka, has described a *phāṇita* or *rāśi* of the *Mahua* flower. The tree (*Bassia latifolia*) bears Sanskrit names, all referring to its honey-like sweet flower. A week after collection its flower 'gava'.

(1) Water	...	24.5	(2) Water	...	22.24
Soluble in water	...	66.7	Cane sugar	...	10.12
Insoluble	...	8.7	Invert sugar	...	40.45
		<hr/>	Other soluble organic	...	20.21
		99.9	Cellulose	...	4.5
			Ash	...	3.3.5

The proportion of invert sugar being nearly four times as much as cane sugar, the latter cannot be easily separated. No *sārkara*, sugar, is therefore mentioned. The syrup is sweet, but tastes slightly astringent. The corolla contains tannin. Probably the syrup used to be prepared by pounding the flower and boiling it in water. The syrup thus prepared contains much undesirable organic impurities. The best way is to diffuse out the sugar in cold water in a battery of vessels.

27. I have finished the account of sugar as found in ancient Sanskrit works. It is remarkable that no mention of palm sugar is found. Chāṇakya while describing alcoholic beverages does not even hint at *tādī* ('toddy'). Yet Ktesias, the Greek historian of the time of Chāṇakya, is said to have tasted and liked it. (*India and the Western World*. Rawlinson). Probably very little sugar, if any at all, used to be prepared at ~~his time~~. At any rate it was unknown in Northern India, including Bengal.

The palmyra palm (*Borassus*) is called *tāla* in Sanskrit and *tāl* in the vernaculars. The sap of the tree should therefore be known as *tālī*. But this *l* is pronounced as *ḍ*, rather *r* in Madras, whence the name *tādī*. From this history of the word we gather that the palmyra palm was the first to undergo bleeding, and that the knowledge originated in the Deccan. It was subsequently applied to the date palm, to which the use of the word *tādī* was extended.

The date palm sugar industry of Bengal appears to be comparatively recent. Orissa has not yet tasted the *gur* or sugar, at least knowing its source. The orthodox Hindus have a dread for the

tree itself, since it is known to yield an intoxicating drink, and I know that in an entire pargana in the District of Hugli tapping a date tree was regarded until very recently as sinful. There is no reference to *tādī*, not to speak of palm sugar, in any old Bengali work, though the words, *madya*, 'wine', and *surā*, 'spirit', are found. Probably the art of tapping palms originating in the Deccan spread into Bengal through low class Hindus who subsequently became converts to Islam. Even now the art is practised by a class of Mahomedans in Bengal, though the prejudice among Hindus against the operation is fast disappearing. The sap of the palms being associated with an alcoholic drink is as much shunned by true Mahomedans as by Hindus. It is, however, curious to observe that most of the Hindus of the present day do not feel scruple in taking date palm *gur*, 'cooked' by Mahomedans.

VII.—The Religion of the Birhōrs.

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

I.—MAN'S RELATION TO THE SPIRIT-WORLD.

To the Birhōr everything above, below, or around him is animated by a spirit or soul. Although the spirit residing in a large number of things are almost dormant or at any rate impotent or innocuous, the residue that still remain as active spirits with varying degrees of power are not inconsiderable in number. Besides the spirits of their numerous native hills, forests and streams, there are the ever-increasing spirits of dead human beings, all seeking food and nourishment. The Birhōr in his absorbing quest for food and his unremitting efforts to preserve life and health is not unoften waylaid and baffled by some spirit or other hungering on his part for sustenance. Some of the more powerful spirits are said to regard tigers and bears as their 'lambs' and men as their 'peacocks'. The deer is called by the Birhōr 'the goat of the gods', and when the Birhōr slays a deer, he offers a bit of its hair or skin to the gods of the forest to avert their displeasure. Thus the Birhōr ever walks through life with a sense of mysterious sacredness almost approaching awe in the presence of the higher spirits, powerful for good or evil, whom he seeks to propitiate with periodical sacrifices and offerings, and in a spirit of cautious and vigilant fear of the lesser spirits whom he seeks to avert, repel, or control. When these lesser spirits, however, are not amenable to control but cause failure in the chase or sickness to man, they have to be appeased by sacrifices or promises of sacrifices; and even the higher spirits either when there is a delay in the supply of their periodical sacrifices or when they are tempted by some mischievous spirit or spirit-dealer to taste blood before the appointed time of sacrifice, seek

to satisfy their premature craving for food and drink by causing sickness and death to man. Thus, for the Birhör, the world is a vast 'sacred' arena where men and spirits are continually engaged in a silent struggle each for his own hand. And, over it all, sits apart the great God Singböngā, generally an unconcerned spectator—the 'Sākhi', or witness, as the Birhör aptly characterizes Him—of the doings of men and spirits, their struggles and strivings to secure food and sustain and strengthen life.

It is only a few favoured persons, more sensitive than others, who in a state of self-induced trance can enter into direct communion with the spirit-world, know the wishes and demands of particular gods or spirits and assist in bringing about a mutual understanding between man and the gods and spirits and in putting fellow-men on friendly or rather working relations with them. The average man can hope to enter into some sort of direct relation with the spirit-world only when his physical body is asleep, but with the return of the soul to the body almost all recollection of the soul's dream experiences of the spirit world is lost and no direct consciousness of that world is retained.

II.—DEITIES AND SPIRITS.

The Birhör recognizes a clear distinction between personal gods or spirits who may have to be propitiated with prayers and sacrifices and impersonal spirits or powers which may be controlled, averted or repelled by spells, threats and other methods of magic. Of personal spirits some receive regular sacrifices, and others are not ordinarily heeded unless they cause repeated obstruction to the chase or to the collection of honey, or cause repeated misfortune in health, and refused to be bribed away or placated by a casual sacrifice so that they have finally to be conciliated by being included among the *Manita-āhūts* to whom sacrifices at regular intervals must be made. This is how the Birhōrs and particularly the migratory section of them who move about in strange jungles and hills infested by strange spirits, continually make additions to their clan-*āhūts* and family-*āhūts*.

Anthropomorphic ideas, though not yet fully developed, are in the making. The *Orā-bōngās* are believed to have each a particular species of animal for his vehicle. Men of the clan sometimes have dreams of their *Orā-bōngās* coming from the direction of their native hills riding their favourite animals. One class of spirits are represented as armed men and another as men wearing beards. The spirits are generally divided into males and females. Besides the ancestor-spirits, some other spirits are apparently deified men, as such names of spirits as *Bān Singh*, *Dulāl Singh*, and a few others show.

The personification of a hill-spirit is illustrated by the following myth with regard to one of the *Birhōr* spirits. The natural features of the hills apparently suggested this anthropomorphic interpretation. The spirit *Lūgū Pāhār* (spirit of the *Lūgū Hill*) gave his daughter in marriage to the spirit now known as *Rāngā-Būrū* (the spirit of the *Rāngā Hill*). One day the son-in-law seeing a tiger domesticated by his father-in-law, told *Lūgū Pāhār*, "Kindly lend me your dog (tiger) for a time. There are many pea-fowls (men) in our part of the country. I shall send back your dog after it has devoured the pea-fowls." The father-in-law acceded to the request and he took the tiger home. When he set the tiger on half a dozen men who were cutting wood in a jungle to make ploughs with, the wood-cutters struck the tiger to death with their axes. As the tiger was long in returning to him, *Lūgū-Pāhār* himself went to his son-in-law's place to bring his 'dog' back. His son-in-law with his old father had in the meanwhile left home for purposes of trade—the father to sell 'sheep' (that is, bears which are the 'sheep' of spirits) and the son to trade in clothes. They stopped by the side of another hill where they laid out their clothes one above another. When *Lūgū Pāhār* came to his son-in-law's place on a hill and learnt that his son-in-law and the latter's father were both away from home, he questioned his own daughter about the whereabouts of his 'dog'. The daughter related what had happened to the animal and added that her husband and father-in-law meant to buy

a new 'dog' for him with the profits of trade. At this *Lügū Pāhār* was so furiously angry that he set fire to the hill which became red and it has been since known as *Rāngā-būrū*. Seeing the hill on fire, the son-in-law and his father ran to the spot, leaving their stock of clothes in piles and these turned into a jugged hill now known as *Kāpār-gādi'* Hill, and the bears which had been left on another rock (*tōngri*) still haunt the *tōngri* now known as 'Bhāl-tōngri' (Rock of Bears). ~~Two~~ gods named *Anand Singh* and *Sunnat Singh*, said to be the sons of *Lügū Pāhār*, periodically receive the sacrifice of a red goat from the men of the *Ludāmbā* clan who also offer one red goat to *Lügū Pāhār* himself. Although men are not said to be ever married to spirits, when a man dreams of having sexual intercourse with his wife or other woman or has nocturnal pollution, it is believed that he had sexual intercourse in sleep with one of the *Sāt-Bahini* spirits (the 'seven sisters')—a class of nature beings or elemental spirits of streams and pools.

The main deities of the *Birhōrs* besides *Singbōnga*, the Creator, and *Devī Māi* would appear to be hill-spirits and ancestor-spirits. A few beast-gods such as *Bāgh-bir* (tiger-god), *Huṇḍār-bir* (wolf-god), *Bir-Bānbé* (orang-outang-god), *Bāndar-bir* (monkey-god) and *Halumān-bir* (Baboon-god) are also propitiated. Although certain trees are believed to be the abode of spirits, tree-worship, as a cult, is unknown. The festival of the *Karam* (*Nau-clea parvifolia*) tree and the *Jilia* *tree appear to have been adopted by some of the settled groups from their neighbours.

The *Birhōr* regards the spirits as his equals who possess or have acquired a certain sanctity or rather 'sacredness' and superior power, but are inclined to be friendly if kept in good humour and supplied with food and shelter in due time. Spirits are anxious to have an 'āsthān' or seat where food and drink may be regularly provided to them by men. And it is to ensure this that they sometimes bring death and disease to men. Before a migratory (*Uṭhlu*) group of *Birhōrs* leave their encampment in one jungle and start for another jungle, the bamboo-tube containing rice (*chauli-jung*) used at the sacrifices is placed in a

tiny bamboo box called *bōngā-peṭi* which is carried in a basket called *bōngā-khānchi*. The Orā-Bongās are believed to remain in the spirit-box with this rice. The other deities of the community are supposed to be accommodated in the spirit-basket during the journey. The wooden pegs, stones or lumps of clay that represented the different spirits at the now abandoned spirit-seats are upturned and the spirits are all told, "Come along. ~~We~~ are going to such and such a jungle," and the spirits, it is said, readily troop into the spirit-basket with which a man called "Bōngā-gōgōni" (god-carrier) walks away a short distance in advance of the party.

Mahādeo (generally worshipped only by certain families, or individuals), Singbōngā, and the Mother goddesses Devi Mai, Burhi Mai, and Kali Mai, are, however, deities who are superior to man, and stand as a class apart. They are the gods proper, and the rest are spirits and *bhūts*. Among spirits, the Būrū-Bōngas, or ancestral hill-spirits, and the Haprom, or ancestor-spirits, rank highest. The rest are *bhūts* of whom *Chāndi* is a general spirit, sacrificed to by the whole tribe.

The different deities and spirits recognized by the Birhōrs may be classified as follows :—

(i) *General or Tribal Gods and Spirits.*

(1) *The Supreme God or Singbōngā.*—At the head of the Birhōr spirits and deities stands this great over-god who ordinarily takes no active interest in human affairs. He does not cause any harm to man and may occasionally protect him from evil. He is recognized as the creator of the world. While going out to hunt or to collect honey the Birhōr sometimes invokes him to procure him game or honey, as the case may be. A Birhōr naïvely explained to me the cause of such invocation by saying, "It is for the belly (hunger) that we tell Singbōngā, 'To-day we are going to hunt : do give us game.' Since Singbōngā created us He *must* provide us with food." Some Birhōrs in explaining to me the characteristics of Singbōngā described him as the 'Sākhi' or witness of what men and spirits do. He is spoken of as identical with the Sun, but not the material part

of the great luminary. The Hindu name 'Bhagabān' is also applied to him. There is just the glimmering of an idea that He is a moral God who punishes wrong-doing. To avert particular dangers, a white goat or a white fowl is offered to Him by the head of a family with his face to the east. White probably symbolizes either purity or the white rays of the Sun.

(2) The mother-goddesses Devi Māi and Burhi Māi are, unlike *Singbōngā*, intensely interested in man, and if properly served, brings him luck in health, progeny and food.

(3) *Chāṇḍi and other hunting deities*.—Near every Birhōr *tanda* a piece of rock under some tree is fixed upon as the seat of the hunting God Chāṇḍi and his associates. Before undertaking a hunting expedition, the nets, sticks, and axes which the hunters carry with them are arranged under the tree and the Nāyā offers sacrifices to Chāṇḍi to ensure success in the hunt. Bāndar Bir and Halumān Bir are believed to bring success in catching monkeys.

(4) *Māhālī Chāaṭi*.—This is a female deity who is said to be the wife of the spirit Lūgū Pāhār (named after a hill of that name in the Hazaribagh district). On the occasion of the Thhaṭhhi ceremony of a new-born babe in a Birhōr family the sacrifice of a black fowl is made to this deity by the Nāyā on the open space in front of the *kumbā* or hut of the family, and a similar offering is made on the occasion of a marriage in a family. Originally, it would seem, this was a hill-deity since anthropomorphized and was probably the *Orā-bōngā* of some formerly predominant clan. Now she is regarded as merely a powerful spirit to whom sacrifices have to be offered at the *thāāns* or spirit-seats to prevent harm to the community.

(ii) *Clan Gods.*

(1) *Būrūbōngās or Orā-bōngās*.—These are the spirits of the different hills reputed to have formed the original homes of the different Birhōr clans. They are generally identified with the hills themselves. In fact, it is only the Jāghi or settled Birhōrs who call them *ōrā* (house) *bōngās*, the Uṭhlu (migratory) Birhōrs call these spirits the *Būrū* (hill) *bōngās*. They are believed

to be the 'māliks' or 'masters' (dispensers) of sickness. Some of the Būrū Bōngās are credited with certain powers over nature, such as causing and stopping rain and storm. Each Orā-bōngā has its peculiar sacrifices which the head of the clan in every *tāṇḍā* offers annually in Aghān, Pūs, Māgh or Asārḥ. When a man of any *gotra* dreams of his Orā-bōngā coming riding the animal which is his reputed vehicle, some misfortune to the village is apprehended, and a special *pujā* or sacrifice is offered.

(2) *Larāṅkiā Bhūts*.—Each Birhōr clan has a particular *Larāṅkiā Bhūt*¹ (fighting spirit) with whose help in ancient times the forefathers of the clan fought against other clans. They used to be invoked and sacrifices offered to them before members of the clans started on a fighting expedition. As such expeditions are unknown in modern times, it is only when the *Larāṅkiā bhūt* of a clan appears in a dream to members of the clan that sacrifices are offered to it, as it is believed that the spirit is hungry and will cause mischief if no food is provided. The shape in which the *Larāṅkiā bhūt* appears in dreams is that of a man armed for battle. Among such *bhūts* are *Chatrāmā* of the Bhuiyā clan, *Māhdi* of the Mūrūm clan and *Murkātī* of the Aṇḍi clan.

(3) *Mānitā (acquired) spirits of the clans*.—Some of the clans have a few *Mānitā* or acquired spirits which are provided with seats either in a small leaf-hut called "*bōnga-ōrā*", spirit-hut, or in a special *thāān* or spirit seat of the family as distinguished from the common (*jamā*) *thāān* of the *tāṇḍā*. The way in which such 'gods' appear to have been 'acquired' is this :—When a clan-group in the past repeatedly met with some misfortune or other such as obstruction in their hunting or honey-gathering expeditions or sickness and death, a *māti* was consulted and some particular spirit was declared to be responsible for the trouble. If in spite of offerings of fowl, pig or other sacrifice, there was a recurrence of the trouble and the spirit refused to abstain from its mischievous tricks unless provided with a seat and regular

¹ The term 'bhut' is applied by the Chota Nagpur aboriginal indiscriminately to ghosts and deities.

periodical sacrifices, such a seat was provided and regular sacrifices promised. As now-a-days the food-groups are not solely clan-groups but mixed groups consisting of persons of different clans, such *mānitā* spirits are acquired by the food-group or *ṭāṇḍā* as a whole and are known as *Sāngi-bhūts* or group-gods. Such clan-gods of the *Mānitā* type as members of any clan have inherited from their forefathers were carried by them to the food-group or *ṭāṇḍā* of which they now form part, and given seats at a *thāān* or spirit-seat selected by the family by the side of the encampment or settlement. A lump of clay or a stone or a small wooden peg is placed there as the symbol of the god. The *ṭāṇḍā*, as a whole, feels as much interested in keeping these spirits in good humour and avert any mischief from them as the clan or family to which they particularly belong. Consequently as clan-gods they receive, from the head of the particular clan in the *ṭāṇḍā*, each the stipulated sacrifices at the appointed season; and as *Sāngi-bhūts* or group-gods they jointly receive with other group-gods some common sacrifices to share amongst themselves. Among such *Mānitā* clan-gods may be mentioned *Bīr-Bānhe*, *Sipāhi*, *Anand Singh*, *Chhunnut Singh*, *Bān Singh*, *Dulāl Singh*, *Lūgū Pākār*, *Māi* or *Mahāmāya*, *Dindā-beṭi* *Bāgh-bir*, *Hūndar-bīr* Mahādeo and innumerable others. In the spirit-basket of a family of the Ludūmbā clan I saw a pair of small iron-chains which were said to represent Mahādeo which was the *Mānitā* clan-god of the family. Beside the door of the leaf hut belonging to a family of that clan in the same *ṭāṇḍā* I saw suspended on the outer wall a winnowing basket which, I was told, represented a *Mānitā* clan-god named *Gura Gosān*. In cases of an epidemic of cholera or small-pox in the *ṭāṇḍā*, the mother-goddess *Devi* is generally offered one red goat and the goddess *Kālī-Māi* is offered one black goat. A vow or *mānitā* is made when the epidemic spreads and the promised sacrifices are offered by the Nāyā when it abates.

(iii) *Family Gods.*

(1) *Hāprom or Ancestor-spirits.*—These are the spirits of such deceased persons of a Birhōr family as have been conducted

to the *āding*,¹ or inner tabernacle, of the hut by the *Umbū'-āder* ceremony. Until the *ūmbūl'-āder* ceremony is performed in respect of any deceased member of the family the spirit remains a *muā* and is not included among the *Hāprōm*, as ancestor-spirits are called. Similarly, the spirits of the following classes of persons are not conducted to the *āding* and consequently are not included within the *Hāprōm*, viz., spirits of women dying in pregnancy or childbirth or during their menses; spirits of persons dying of snake-bite, cholera or small-pox; persons killed by tiger, or drowned to death; the spirit of a man dying during the menstrual period of his wife and the spirit of a bachelor who kept a maiden without marrying her. Unless their regular sacrifices and offerings are neglected, these ancestor-spirits cause no harm, but, on the other hand, care for the well-being of the family and assist them in securing game or honey. Promises of a decent share in the spoil of the chase induce *Chowrāsi* *Hāprōm* ancestor-spirits to redouble their energies in baffling the impediments to the chase sought to be offered by certain spirits. If, however, these *Hāprōms* are not regularly supplied with food and drink they themselves prevent success in securing game or honey, or incite outside *bhūts* to cause sickness in the family. It is said that out of a touch of natural affection they do not themselves cause sickness to their human relatives but incite other spirits to do so in such cases. When a girl of the family goes wrong with a man of the same clan, it is the *Burhā-Burhi* ancestor-spirits who in their solicitude for the good of the family reveal the sin to the *māti*.

The *Hāprōms* or ancestor-spirits, as we have indicated, are divided into two classes—the *Burhā-Burhi* or near ancestors of the family and the *Chowrāsi Hāprōm* who are the ancient dead of the family whose names are no longer remembered. Sacrifices to the former are offered by the head of the family who sacrifices one red hen after the *ṭhaṭhi* ceremony of a newborn babe, one after

¹ The *Uḥlās* or migratory *Birhōrs* have no *āding* or inner tabernacle for the *Hāprōms* but sacrifice to them at a small leaf-hut which serves as their *Bongā-oyā* or spirit-hut.

a marriage in the family, and also one by such families as observe the Sarhūl feast on the occasion of that feast. To the *Chowrāsī Haprōm* the Nāyā or priest of the *tāṇḍā* sacrifices a fowl on the occasion of the *ṭhaṭhi* ceremony of a newborn child in the family and a wedding in the family.

Although they generally exercise a guardian care over their descendants, ancestor-spirits are not consulted in times of danger or distress nor credited with the power of giving oracles to them. Birhōr customs do not show any relations between ancestor-worship and totemism.

The cult of 'heroes' or the distinguished dead appears to be unknown, unless such spirits as *Ban Singh*, *Dular Singh*, etc., be those of heroes whose achievements have been forgotten.

(2) *Mānitā Bāghouts*.—When a member of a family is killed by a tiger, his spirit, as I have said, is not included within the Haprōms or ancestor-gods nor accommodated either in the *āding* of the family-hut or in the family *thāān* or spirit-seat. Such a Bāghout is represented by a stone or a lump of clay placed in the spirit hut, if the family has one, or under a tree near the '*thāān*' or seat of the *tāṇḍā* spirits. Some Jāghi Birhōrs plant an upright stone to mark the seat of the Bāghout. A speckled (spotted red and white) fowl is offered to the spirit periodically by the head of the family to avert any mischief which this spirit may cause.

(3) *Family Mānitā Bhūts or the acquired deities of a family*.—Although the Bāghouts described in the last paragraph are called *Mānitā Bāghouts* to distinguish them from stray *ṭanr* Bāghouts who are spirits of persons killed by tigers and not conducted back to their people, they are virtually ancestor-gods. The *Mānitā* gods proper of a family¹ comprise such spirits as owing to repeated mishaps having been caused by them to the family have been promised seats and periodical offerings by a member of the family in order to prevent future mischief from them. The *māti* is appealed to for the purpose of finding out the *bhūt* causing mishaps, and the offering required to appease the *bhūt*.

¹ The '*Mānitā* spirits of the clans' described above may also be some of them really *Mānitā* spirits of particular families who acquired them for themselves.

An instance of such a *family bhūt* is the spirit of a murdered person to whom periodical sacrifices are offered by the descendants of the murderer. An interesting class of such spirits are what are called the *Nānas-Bhūts of the family of the murderer*. As instances of such *bhūts* may be mentioned the following :—In one Birhōr *tāṇḍā* I found a family of the Bhuiyā clan sacrificing to a *bhūt* which was named *Lāhi Nāsan*, and the head of the family gave me the following account of its origin. His grandfather had grown lac on a few trees, but some unknown thief stealthily removed the lac from the trees. The owner of the lac took up a little of the earth on which the foot-print of the thief could be seen. With the help of this earth, known as *jāṅgā-dhurā*, a '*māral bhūt*' was set up to kill the thief. Not long afterwards misfortune after misfortune troubled my informant's grandfather. A *māli* was called in and by the *Dūb-hōrā* process of spirit-finding it was known that the thief had been killed by the *māral-bhūt* and that it was the spirit of the murdered thief. Sacrifices by the *viṅgohā* method were made three times, but the spirit would not be appeased until it was made a *mānitā* by being provided with a seat and regular sacrifices at fixed intervals. This was accordingly done. Just in the same way a family of the *Beirāār* clan of Birhōrs in another *tāṇḍā*, as I was informed, had acquired a *Mānitā Bhūt* named *Gōrā Nāsan* which was the spirit of a cow-herd whose cattle damaged the field of an ancestor of the *Beirāār* man and who was consequently dealt with in the same way as the lac-thief. In another *tāṇḍā* I met with a similar family-*bhūt*, styled *Marich-nāsan* whose origin was thus accounted for. An ancestor of a Birhōr family belonging to the *Hembrām vōra* saw a chilli plant full of chillies on a plot of *jārā* (land cleared by burning down trees on it). The man could not resist the temptation of helping himself with all the chillies on the plant. The owner with the help of the *jāṅgā-dhurā* of the thief dealt with him in the manner described above and the thief died within a short time, and his spirit was duly conducted to the *āding* of his hut. The relatives of the latter, however, with

the help of one of those very stolen chillies set on a *māral bhūt* who soon killed the owner of the chilli plant. The spirit of the latter began to afflict the family of his enemy in several ways till at length, other means of appeasing the spirit having failed, it was given a seat by the family who accepted it as a family *Nāsan spirit*.

(iv) *Group-Gods, or Sāngi-Bhūts.*

These are spirits sacrificed to by an entire *ṭāṇḍā* or food-group, whether it be a group of Jāghis or *Uṭhlūs*. The way in which these gods arise is as follows. When shortly after taking up their residence temporarily (as *Uṭhlūs*) or permanently (as Jāghis) in any locality, a Birhōr group repeatedly meets with failure in the chase or suffers from sickness in their group, the *māti* tries his methods of finding out the *bhūt* or spirit that is responsible for the trouble. These methods generally are either what is known as *Dūb-hōrā* or what is known as *Khāri-hōrā*. In the *Khāri-hōrā* process which is employed first, the *māti* sits down holding with one hand an axe placed upright on the ground with its head downwards. He begins by sprinkling around him rice grains placed before him on a leaf and goes on muttering invocations to different spirits. The *māti* goes on interrogating in a sing-song tone, "Say, who thou art. Art thou such and such a *bhūt* or such other *bhūt*?" Thus he goes on naming every *bhūt* he can think of until the axe and the hand placed on it begin to shake and move. The name at which this movement begins is taken to be that of the spirit who has caused harm and has now possessed the *māti*. The spirit is now asked what sacrifices he would have and different sacrifices are similarly named. The name at which the axe gives a jerk and begins to move sharper and quicker is taken to be the sacrifice demanded. If in spite of such sacrifices being offered, the troubles do not cease, or revive after a short interval, the *khāri-hōrā* process is repeated once or twice to find out if any additional or more acceptable sacrifices are wanted. If in spite of such sacrifices having been offered, the troubles do not cease, the *Dūb-hōrā* process of spirit-finding is tried once or twice. This process consists in the *māti* taking some rice

on a winnowing basket and briskly rubbing them with his hands on the basket while muttering his invocations until he is possessed by the *bhūt* responsible for the troubles. The *bhut* on being asked his name by some one present reveals his name through the mouth of the *māli*. Then the spirit is asked what he wants. The spirit finally says, "Make me a *mānitā*". He is then asked "How would you remain?" The *bhūt* replies whether he would have stone or wooden peg or a lump of clay for his seat. Sometimes the *bhūt* names an unusual object such as a pair of iron-chains (by which I found the Mahādeo represented by the Ludumbā clan men of a certain *ṭāṇḍā*). The *bhūt* is then asked, "What would you have to eat?" Thereupon he names the sacrifice he desires to have and the colour of the fowl or pig or goat he covets. The required seat (clay lump, stone, or wooden peg, as the case may be) is accordingly made and the spirit is included among the *Sāṅgi bhūts* of the group. Naturally the *Uṭhlū*, or migratory, groups of Birhōrs who are constantly moving from one hill or jungle to another, have many more of such *bhūts* than the Jāghi or settled groups possess. These *Mānitā bhūts* jointly acquired by a group, as also the *Mānitā Bhūts* of the different families of the group, altogether constitute the *Sāṅgi Bhūts* of the groups; and once a year in the month of *Māgh* (January) the *māli* of the *ṭāṇḍā* offers sacrifices to them to keep the *ṭāṇḍā* free from sickness and amply provided with game and honey. Besides this fixed annual sacrifice, they are also offered especial sacrifices when an epidemic visits the *ṭāṇḍā* or its surrounding country. Jāher Būri, Būri Māi, Kālī Māi, Devī, Dārḥā, Mahādeo and several other deities, including those named above as *Mānitā* clan-gods, are included among the *Sāṅgi* gods. In fact most of these *Mānitā Bhūts* of families are the *Sāṅgi Bhūts* of their clan which they carried with them to the new *ṭāṇḍā* groups they subsequently joined. And consequently it is the business of such families to offer the particular sacrifices required by such deities, whereas the *ṭāṇḍā* as a whole generally offer in *Māgh* once every year joint sacrifices to all such *Sāṅgi-bhūts*. The

required sacrifices are collected by subscription from all the families of the *ṣāṇḍā*. Generally they contribute two goats in the first year and the next year four fowls for each hunting net in the *ṣāṇḍā* and so on in alternate years.

(v) *Individual or Sakti Bhāts*.

It is only the *Māti* who takes to himself some particular deity such as Mahādeo as his *Sakti bhāt*. Sometimes it is in a dream that this deity appears to the man and he attaches himself to such deity. Generally it is only after some training under an old *Māti* that the novice who has learnt the proper methods of invoking the spirits and passing into the trance state by swinging his head from side to side while muttering the invocations that he has a vision of the deity that will help him, and fixes upon him as his guardian deity. By unremitting devotion to such deity and scrupulous habits of continence and abstemiousness in diet, a *māti* seeks to come into direct relation with the spirit-world. He sometimes sits up whole nights concentrating his mind on his deity, muttering invocations to him, burning the gum of *sāl*-trees as incense before the visible symbol of the deity, and at times passes into trance when his soul is believed to temporarily pass from the physical world and function in the spirit-world. The devotion of some of these *mātis* to their favourite deity is indeed remarkable. Generally the object of the particular devotion of the Birhōr *māti* is either Mahādeo or *Māi*. It is through communion with such powerful deities that the *māti* is believed to acquire power to control other spirits. The sacrifices required by the deity is duly offered at fixed intervals by his votary. Besides the principal deity to whose service the *māti* devotes himself, he also serves such deities as are believed to be companions of, or somehow associated with, that deity. Thus I found at one *ṣāṇḍā* a *māti* who was a votary of Mahādeo, worshipping Mahādeo, Māi, Devī and Durgā. In an enclosure in his courtyard (*āṅgan*) there is one longish stone representing Mahādeo furthest to the north, and a little to the south of it is a lump of clay representing *Māi* (the mother-goddess); next to it are two other lumps of clay representing *Devī*

and *Durgā*,¹ who are said to be daughters of *Māi*. Twice in the year, once in the month of *Āśvin* and again in *Chait*, the votary sacrifices one black goat to Mahādeo and one red goat to *Māi*, *Devī* and *Durgā* jointly.

The *Sāngi Bhūts* are characterized as *Arhāiā-Bhūts* at whose orders *stray spirits* and minor *bhūts* will kill people or do other harm. Some Birhōrs, it is said, occasionally seek the help of the *Sāngi Bhūts* to convert souls of dead men or animals into *Nāsan bhūts* to wreak vengeance on an enemy. The following instances of this are interesting :—

A Birhōr owned a sow which was pregnant. The sow having strayed into the jungle, a cowherd shot her dead with an arrow which remained sticking into its flesh. The Birhōr inquired of all the people of the neighbouring settlements as to who had killed his sow and declared that he must realize from the culprit a sum of four rupees for the sow and twelve for the pigs in her womb. As everyone denied having shot the sow, the Birhōr took the arrow to the *thāān* of his clan and made *dāhārāng* of it by placing it beside the symbols of the *bhū's* at the *thāān* and sprinkling *āruā* rice on it, and addressed the deities at the *thāān*, saying, "Here I offer to you twelve unborn pigs. Do ye deal with the man who has dealt thus with these *parts* ¹ (*angs*) of yours." Shortly after this not only members of the family of the slayer of the pig but his cattle too died one after another, fleas began to infest his house and cause sickness to his cattle. At length one little boy remained the sole surviving member of the family. This harm was attributed to the souls of the pigs which became *Nāsan-bhūts* by order of the *Sāngi-bhūts*. These *Nāsan-bhūts*, however, are like double-edged swords, as after having done away with their employer's enemy they turn back upon their employer himself unless they are made *Mānitā-bhūts*—a position which all spirits covet. As an instance of the conduct of these *Nāsan-bhūts*, the following incident may be cited. A Birhōr of the *Bhūiyā* clan had reared lac on some trees, and close

¹ This looks like an identification of the sacrifices or victims with the gods to whom they are offered.

to those trees he had planted some vegetables called *gōngra*. A Bīrhōr of a neighbouring *tāṇḍā* happened to be passing that way and eased nature under the tree and finally made away with some of the lac and vegetables. Shortly afterwards the owner of the lac and vegetables came to inspect them and unwittingly trod upon the excrement and his feet slipped and he fell down. He thereupon took up a little of the earth covered over with hoar-frost on which foot-prints of the thief could be discerned and carried this *jāṅgā-dhūrā* (dust of the feet) to the *thān* of his *tāṇḍā* and sprinkled *aṛuā* rice on it, appealed to the *Sāṅgi-bhūts*, saying "Go and punish the man who has harmed me in this way". Two members of the thief's family were killed by tigers within a very short time. The same *Nāsan-bhūt*, however, before long, caused death to four members of his employer's family.

(vi) *Minor Spirits or Ningchhā-bhūts.*

Under this head may be classed the remaining spirits who, whether personal spirit, or elemental beings, or impersonal powers, do not receive regular sacrifices, but depend for their nutriment on the off-chance of sometimes extorting the sacrifice of a fowl or animal from men by waylaying, obstructing, or afflicting them. Some of these spirits, as we have seen, at length succeed by a dogged persistence to get admission into the rank of a *Mānitā* deity, but the majority are satisfied with *ningchhā* sacrifices once in a way. In this class are human spirits who are excluded from the category of *Hāprōms*, such as the *Bhūtās* or spirits of men whose wives died during their menstrual period, *Kichins* or spirits of women dying during menses, *Baram-bhūts* or spirits of bachelors who kept maidens in concubinage, *Muās* or spirits of persons dying of snake-bite, *Churins* or spirits of women dying during pregnancy, and elemental spirits like the *Sātbahimi* and *Bindi-Era*. Such of them as have no fixed habitation are known as *Bhūlās* (wandering spirits).

Unless accepted as *mānitās*, all spirits—and their name is legion—that reside in upland and river, forest and mountain (*tānṛ-tikur*, *gārha-dhōra*, *ban-jungle*, *pāhār-parbat*) are *ningchhā-bhūts*.

Some spirits that are *mānītās* to some people may be *niṅgchhā-bhāt*s to all others. Thus the *Dārkhā-bhāt* is a spirit that dwells in stones by the side of some lowland or *dōn*, and is a *mānītā-bhāt* to the owner of the land who has to offer periodical sacrifices to the *Dārkhā*. For others, *Dārkhā* is a *niṅgchhā-bhāt*, so that when any outsider cuts wood of trees by the side of the *Dārkhā* stone or eases nature by its side, he is afflicted with some sickness for the removal of which the *niṅgchhā* ceremony has to be performed by a *māti*.

III.—SACRIFICES AND SACRIFICERS.

In this section I shall describe the ritual observed in the propitiation or conciliation of the different classes of Birhōr deities and spirits with the object of securing 'luck' and avoiding misfortune, of preserving, increasing and ennobling life.

Sing-Bōṅgā Pūjā.—As for the supreme God, Sing-Bōṅgā, there is no special season or special ritual for sacrificing to Him. When some serious calamity threatens or visits a family, the head of the family with his face to the east offers a white fowl or a white goat to Him and prays for succour. A fowl is also offered to him by the Nāyā on the occasion of the annual Sāngi-Pūjā for the protection of the *ṭāṇḍā* from harm. Devī Māi and other Mother-Goddesses also receive sacrifices at the Sāngi-Pūjā besides special offerings to avert some special calamity.

Orā-Bōṅgā Pūjā.—The propitiation of the guardian deity, the *Orā-Bōṅgā* or *Būrū-Bōṅgā*, of each clan is esteemed by the Birhōr to be of paramount importance. The sacrifice is performed on a Friday or a Monday in the month of *Pūs* or *Māgh* (January-February) with the following rites: The day preceding the ceremony, the head of the clan, in the *ṭāṇḍā*, brings a twig of the *mērel* (myrobalan) tree. The twig is dried in the sun and burnt into ashes. A loin-cloth of the man is cleaned by boiling in water mixed with the ashes of the myrobalan twig and laid out to dry. The man remains fasting the whole day. Members of the clan living or encamping within some distance are invited to join in the pūjā. The man bathes without rubbing any oil on his head or limbs, puts on the cloth cleaned and dried the previous

day. Then he goes with his kinsmen and friends to the spirit hut, if any, of the clan, takes the small *bōngā-peŕi* or spirit-lox containing a little vermilion in a *kiā* (snuff-box) and *āi uā* rice for the pūjā which is kept in a bamboo tube in which the *Orā-bōngā* is also supposed to stop, and goes to an open space a little further away from the huts. His companions carry a knife, an axe, the requisite fowls or goat, and some rice for cooking a meal. The place is now cleaned with cowdung diluted in water by some man; no woman is permitted to go there or witness the ceremony. Different *Orā-bōngās* require different sacrifices. To the *Orā-lōngās* of most of the clans, two fowls—one red and one white—are offered; those of the Gerōā, Shāmjhākōā, Āñḍi and Khāngār clans require one goat each; the *Orā-bōngā* of the Mūrūm clan requires one fowl and one goat, and that of the Nāgpuriā clan requires a bullock. On the space cleaned with cowdung, a mystic diagram with four compartments is drawn with rice-flour. In one of the compartments is placed an emblem of the totem of the clan, a bit of skin or horn of the totem animal, or wing or feather of the totem bird, such as has been already mentioned in detail in a previous chapter. When everything is ready for the sacrifice, the man with his face turned in the direction of the hill reputed to be the original home of his clan which is identified with his Būrū-bōngā or *Orā-lōngā*, stands on his left leg with his right heel resting on his left knee, and, stretching his hand forward, pours a little water three times on the ground and invokes the spirit by name and prays for luck in hunting and physical well-being to the members of the clan. He then sits down on one of the compartments of the rice-flour diagram, makes three vermilion marks on the ground and prays for health and abundance of game to the clan. The head of each fowl is then cut off with the knife, and the heads placed on the ground and blood from the headless bodies of the fowls is dropped on the heads. Then the heads are skinned and cut up and mixed with rice and made into a lump and roasted. Every member of the clan present scrapes off the nails of his fingers a little of this roasted

meat and offers it to the *Orā-bōngā*, saying, "We offer this head to you; enjoy this meat and drink; give us health and luck in the chase." The men of the clan now eat the head. Then they besmear each his own face with oil. The bodies of the fowls are then cut up and dressed and boiled with rice as *kichri* and eaten by the men of the clan. If they cannot eat up all the *kichri*, what is left over is burnt in the fire. Then the party return to the open space in front of the hut of the head of the clan. On the way the latter goes on sprinkling water on the path from a jug (*lotā*) until he reaches home. There he sprinkles a little water on the *āngan* or open space, in front of his hut, a little water here and there on all sides, and a little at the door of the hut; the rest of the water in the jug is sprinkled in the *āḍīng* of his hut where the jug is finally left. The wife of the man now fills the jug again with water, comes out with the jug in her hand and washes the feet of all the men who attended the sacrifice. The men then each put a little oil first in his ear, then over his eyes and finally all over his body. If any one omits this, particularly if his hands and legs are not anointed with oil before he visits other people's houses, the sacrifices will have no efficacy, and he will have to offer the sacrifices over again.

Sacrifices to the Mānitā deities.—The *Mānitā bōngās* are offered by the head of the family or clan which have accepted them as *mānitās*, such sacrifices and at such intervals as have been agreed upon for all time. Thus in one *ṭāṇḍā* I found the *Lulāmbā gotra* men offering annually one white goat to *Sipaṭi bhūṭ*, two pigs to *Bir-Bānhē*, one red goat to *Ānand Singh* and *Chhunnat Singh* jointly, one red goat to *Lāgū Pāhār*, one black goat to *Māi*, one black virgin she-goat to *Diṇā-beṭi*, and one speckled fowl to the family *Bāghout*.

Sacrifices to Sāngi Bhūts.—All the *Mānitā bhūts* of the different families of the *ṭāṇḍā* who have their seats at the *thāṇs* of the settlement together with such *bhūts* as the *ṭāṇḍā* have made their common *mānitās* receive annually either in the month of *Māgh* (January), or failing that in *Asārh* (July) a joint

sacrifice of not less than twelve fowls in one year and two goats in the next year and so on in each alternate year. Each family, as I have already said, contributes four fowls for each hunting net owned by it, and for the price of the two goats a proportionate subscription is collected by the Kōtwār from each family. The Nāyā officiates as the sacrificer. An open space at one extremity of the *tāṇḍā* is cleaned with cowdung or mud and water by a woman of the Nāyā's family who after ablutions goes there with water in a new vessel. After cleaning the spot with the water brought in the new earthen jar, she places on the ground thus cleaned a new winnowing basket containing about a seer (two lbs.) of *ārwā* rice, a little vermillion, a little salt, a few pieces of turmeric and a few chillies, and goes away. The Nāyā holding another *sūp* or winnowing basket in his hand now goes to the *thāān* and leaves it there and then goes to some stream or spring for ablution. On his return, he takes the *sūp* and taking the *māti* with him goes to the place where sacrifices are to be offered and there asks the *māti* to put himself in his accustomed hypnotic state. The *māti* goes on muttering his *mantras* until he begins to swing his head (*ghupnā*) and works himself up into something like a frenzy, when he is believed to be possessed by some spirit. The Nāyā now places a little rice from his winnowing basket on the palm of the *māti*'s hand and asks him, "Who art thou?" The *māti*, or rather the spirit that has possessed him, replies "I am such and such *bhūt* (names)." Then the Nāyā tells him, "Do thou examine the rice and see whether the sacrifices we are going to offer on this day of *Māgh* (or *Asārḥ*) will bring us luck. Thou art a spirit and of course seest future events." The spirit through the mouth of the *māti* says, "Come boys, it will be all right. Begin your sacrifices. You will have nothing to fear." It is said that on such occasions, the *māti* or rather the spirit that comes to him invariably predicts success. The goat or fowls to be sacrificed are next brought to the *māti* for examination. The Nāyā tells him, "Examine these too; see

¹ Generally it is either the *Sipāhi bhūt*, or *Lāṅg*, or Mahādeo, or Devi, who is believed to possess the *māti* on such occasions.

whether they are sound or not; and whether they will please the deities." The *māti* takes up in his arms one of the fowls or the goat, as the case may be, and says accordingly,—“Go to; these are all right; begin your sacrifices.” Now the *Nāyā* takes a little water in his right hand and sprinkles it on the head and body of each of the goats or fowl. He next puts three marks of vermillion (*sindūr*) on the ground and a *sindūr* mark on the head and a *sindūr* mark on each of the two horns of the goats; in the case of fowls a *sindūr* mark is made on the head of each. Now the *Nāyā* with his face turned to the east and one of the goats or fowls, as the case may be, in his arms, stands on his left leg with the right leg placed behind it. He prays, “To-day in this month of *Māgh* (or *Asārh*) we are offering the promised (*mānitā*) sacrifices to all the *Sāngi bhūts*. May the *ṣaṇḍā* remain in health and happiness. May no disease or other ill enter the *ṣaṇḍā*.” He then sits down on his feet, places the goat or fowl to his left, and asks all the villagers to sprinkle rice. The other goat or fowls, as the case may be, are placed by its side. All present sprinkle on the victims rice from the *sūp*. Then the *Nāyā* invokes all the gods whose names he can call up, and prays,—“To-day in this month of *Māgh*, we call upon you, Oh *Sāngi bhūts*, do ye command and control (*hānkāo*, *dābāo*) all *bhūts* from outside (*upriā chāpria*). You verily are the masters (*māliks*, i.e., over other *bhūts*). Do not allow disease and calamity to approach the *ṣaṇḍā*.” Then the victims are offered up by cutting their throats with an axe in the case of goats and with a knife in the case of fowls. The red goat¹ is sacrificed before the black one. The victim's head is put down on the ground, a little blood from the body is dropped on this head, and then more blood is poured on a leaf-cup. When all the blood in the body has been thus let into the leaf-cup, the body is put aside. The other victims are dealt with in turn in the same way. Then the heads of the sacrificed goats or fowls are taken up, the hair on them is burnt, and the meat chopped into pieces. In the case of the goats, the brains of the red goat are mixed with

¹ The red goat is said to be really for *Durgā* and the black one for *Kālī*.

ārūā rice and wrapped up in two *sal* leaves and roasted by placing burning charcoal above and under this bundle. The roasted brains are taken to the spot where the sacrifices were offered and a little of it is taken with his nails by the *Nāyā* and offered to the *Sāngi-bhūts*; while offering it, the *Nāyā* says, "Here I offer you the head and neck (*murī-khāndī*) of the goats. We shall eat it and so will you too." ¹Only the *Nāyā* and the men of his clan in the *tāṇḍā* may eat this roasted brain. The flesh of the head of the red goat is boiled in water with *ārūā* rice and a little oil and turmeric. This too may be eaten only by the *Nāyā* and the men of his clan in the *tāṇḍā*. The entrails, lungs and heart of the victims can be eaten only by the women of the *Nāyā's* clan. The rest of the flesh of the red goat, as also the flesh of the head and body of the black goat, is divided among all the families of the *tāṇḍā*, including the *Nāyā's* family, and they take their respective shares home. The fowls sacrificed to the *Sāngi-bhūts* are dealt with in the same manner as the black goat. Women may on no account partake of the meat of the head either of any fowls or goats or other animals offered to any deity or even of those obtained by hunting, although they may eat the meat of fowls or animals purchased from outside the *tāṇḍā* and not sacrificed to any deity. The *Sāngi-bhūts*, as I have said, are characterized as *ārkāiās* or spirits possessing power over other spirits.

Sacrifices to Nīngchhā Bhūts.—With the exception of some minor ailments, most of the ills that flesh is heir to is attributed by the Birhōr to the action of spirits. In all cases of sickness, the assistance of the *māti* is sought; and he finds out either by the *Khāri-hōrā* or by the *dūb-hōra* process described above, or by rubbing a little oil on a *sal* leaf and looking in it for the reflection of the *bhūt* which is responsible for the illness. If it is a *bhūt* of the family who has caused the trouble the customary sacrifices to him are offered. If, however, it is a *bhūt* from outside the house, the *māti* declares from which direction of the compass it has come and indicates the number and colour of the

¹ The idea appears to be that of "eating with the gods".

fowls it requires. The *ningchhā* ceremony is now performed by the *māti* in the following manner. He takes up each fowl, waves it three times round the head of the patient, places some *ārūā* rice on the extended palm of the patient's hand, and the fowl is made to eat a little of this rice. The *māti* orders the fowl, saying, "So long you have given trouble. Get hence from to-day. Here are offerings for you. Do not give further trouble." The *māti* with a companion now takes the fowl in the direction from which the afflicting spirit is believed to have come, to the common boundary of two settlements or villages. While the *māti* goes out of the hut of the sick man, the latter throws away the rice remaining in his hand in the direction in which the *māti* goes with the fowl. Arrived at the boundary of two settlements, the *māti* sits down with his face to the east, puts three marks of vermillion on the ground, and drops grains of rice over the head of the fowl. While the fowl eats the rice as it falls on the ground, the *māti* kills the fowl by twisting its head with his hands. The head thus torn off from the body is placed on the ground, and blood from the body is dropped over it by the *māti* while he addresses the spirit thus, "To-day I offer thee this (sacrifice); do not come to so and so's (names the head of the sick man's family) house again. If thou comest again to the house, curse (*talak*) be on thee." Now the *māti* stands up with his face turned in the direction of the *ṣāṇḍā* and with legs apart, and through the space between the two legs throws away the body of the fowl behind him in the direction from which the *bhūt* is supposed to have come. Thus is the spirit driven away; and the *māti* makes water on a leaf-cup, and pours the urine from the cup on the severed head of the fowl, saying—"Here is liquor for thee. Do not approach the sick man again." The body of the fowl (or fowls) is now taken away by the *māti* and his companion to some place other than that of the sick man's hut, roast it and eat it.

When the *mānitā bhūt* of some other family is found by the *māti* to have caused the trouble, the sacrifices required by the *bhūt* are provided, and the *māti* after waving them three times

over the head of the patient and making them eat rice-grains from the hands of the patient as described above secretly takes out the fowls, kills them by twisting their heads, and leaves the severed heads near the hut of the family whose *bhūt* caused the sickness.

Driving away spirits by force.—Another method by which a *māti* detects and drives back a mischievous spirit not belonging to the *ṣāṇḍā* is this. The *māti* with a cane in hand goes to bed, thinking of the spirit which is causing illness, and then in a dream he sees the *bhūt* and at once gets up and chases it out of the village.

IV.—FEASTS AND FESTIVALS.

The *Uṣṇā* section of the Birhōrs, whose time is entirely taken up in the quest for food and precautions against the consequent dangers from natural and supernatural sources, have no leisure to indulge in regular religious festival. From year's end to year's end they are in a state of almost constant anxiety for securing food. The *Jāghis*, however, particularly those amongst them who have taken to regular cultivation of land, have periods of respite from incessant struggle for existence, when hopeful anticipations of plenty of food or the actual acquisition of such food make them rejoice, and they express their joyfulness and thanksgiving in festivals which they appear to have adopted from their more civilized neighbours and congeners, the Munḍās and the Santāls. These festivals or *parōbs* are the *Sosō-Bōngā* and *Nawājōm* festivals in the month of *Aṣārh* (July), the *Karam* and *Jitiā* in the month of *Bhādo* (September), *Dasai* in *Aswin* (October) and *Sōhōrai* in *Kārtik* (November). These festivals have not all been accepted by every *Jāghi* group. Some clans have adopted some but not others, and others have accepted one or more of these festivals but not the rest. Thus I have found the *Shāmjhakoā* and *Mūrūm* clans that I know observing only the *Karam* and *Sōhōrai* festivals but not the *Jitiā* nor the *Dāsai-parōbs*. The *Lāṭiā*, *Chāuli Hembrōm*, *Nāgpuria*, *Turi Māhli*, and *Gidhi* clans have adopted the *Karam* but not the other festivals. The *Āndī* clan have adopted the *Jitiā* and *Sōhōrai*

festivals but not the *Karam* and the *Dasai parāḥ*. The Hembrām clan has adopted the *Dasai* but not the other festivals and the Bhuiyā, Khāngār and Gerōā clans have adopted the *Sōhōrāi* but not the other three festivals. All the landed Jāghi Birhōrs that I have known have, however, adopted from the Mundās and other neighbours the *Sōsō Bōngā* and the *Nawājōm* festivals. The rites observed in these festivals are given below. *

• *The Sōsō-Bōngā festival.*—One evening in *Asārk* (July) after transplantation of the paddy seedlings is finished, the cultivator brings a few branches of the *sōsō* (*semicarpis anacardium*) plant and calls in a person who has learnt the details of the ceremony. The courtyard (*āngān*) of the house is cleaned with water mixed with cowdung, and the figure of a square is drawn with rice-flour in one part of the *āngān*. Around the square on each side of it three or five figures of the shape of petals of flowers are drawn with coal-dust; and above each of these petals two similar petal-like figures are drawn one above another, the middle row with red earth and the uppermost row with coal-dust. A winnowing basket (*sūp*) with a hen's egg and a twig of the *sōsō* plant on it is placed before him. The man now recites the Āsur legend and at the same time goes on rubbing the rice on the *sūp* with his hand. At the end he calls upon the Evil Eye to give up its victims. The yolk of the egg is offered to Sing-bōngā and mixed with rice and baked. Next morning one of the *sōsō* branches are planted in the manure pit of the cultivator and one in each of his cultivated fields to ward off the Evil Eye from the crops.

• *Nawā Jōm.*—This is the ceremony of eating the New Rice. On the morning following the *Sōsō-bōngā* festival, the owner of the fields, on his return from the fields after planting the *sōsō* branches, bathes and comes home. In the meanwhile his wife has cleaned the *āngān* again with cowdung and water and gathered some fresh *sōsō* leaves and some new upland (*gōrā*) rice from a neighbour's field, threshed the rice and made *chīurā* (flattened rice) of it. A little milk in a jug or cup, some *chīurā* on *sōsō* leaves, and molasses (*gūr*) and clarified butter* (*ghī*) on leaf-cups

are placed in the *āngān* where the man first takes up the jug of milk in his hand in a standing posture goes on dropping the milk on the *chiurā* placed on the ground over *sōsō* leaves. As he drops the milk he prays,—“*Sirmāre Sing-Bōngā tihingdō emkānāing dūd kūsum. Nejomēmā. Lāi hāsū bōhō-hāsū bānuā tihing, etc.*” “Thou Singbōngā in heaven, to-day I am giving (Thee) milk (lit., milk-flower). Eat (drink) this. From to-day may there be no sickness in stomach or head.” A little *chiurā* is also offered to the ancestor-spirits (*Būrhā-Būrhi*) by putting the *chiurā* on *sōsō*-leaves at the *āding*. Then all eat new *chiurā* and drink rice-beer. A screen is hung over the spot in the *āngān* where the offerings to Singbongā were made. In the afternoon when rice has been boiled and meat of fowl cooked, a little of this rice and meat are offered to the *Būrhā-Būrhi* in the *āding* by the head of the family. Then all the members of the family and any friends who may have been invited partake of the feast. The leaf-plates on which they have eaten are stowed away in a corner of the hut. When in the evening the canopy has been removed from the *āngān*, these leaf-plates are thrown away in the *āngān*.

The Karam Festival.—The *Karam* festival is held on the eleventh day of the moon in the month of *Bhādo*. A *Karam* (*Nauclea parvifolia*) branch is brought to the *āngān* where it is ceremoniously planted. And the story (*Kāhāni*) of the two *Karam* and *Dharam* brothers is recited by some one who knows it by heart.

• *The Jitiā Festival.*—This is celebrated twelve days after the *Karam* festival. The head of the family and his wife remain fasting the whole day. The man plants in his *āngān* a branch of *Jitiā*, *pipir* tree (*figus religiosa*), and the branch of the *sekrē* or *sidhā* tree, and a twig of the *mokuā* (*basia latifolia*) tree, a bamboo and a sugarcane all tied together with a straw rope in their middle. The *Jitiā Kahini* is recited by some one who knows it, preferably by a Brāhman if available. Offerings of *Gulāicki* flower, *bael* (*Aegle Marmegos*) leaves, *āruā* rice, milk, molasses, clarified butter (*ghi*), rice-flour cakes (*piṭhā*), and

flattened rice (*chinarā*) are offered to the *Jitā* branch and its associates.

CONCLUSION.

Such in brief is a rough outline of the religious ideas of the Birhōrs as I have understood them and their religious practices as I have partially observed them—some, when they were being actually performed, and others, by making the men enact the ceremonies for my benefit. The impression borne in upon me by all that I have seen with my eyes and heard from the people themselves, is that their religion is concerned with beings who are to them not vague impersonal powers or energies but conscious personal agents as real and living to them as their own selves. Risley's¹ characterization of the religion of the Chōṭā Nāg-pur aboriginal that "in most cases the indefinite something which they fear and attempt to propitiate is not a person at all in any sense of the word" appears to be only a part of the truth. These impersonal powers are the subject matter of their magic which I shall deal with in another paper, and occupy but a subordinate part in their thoughts. True, they conceive of themselves, as Risley says, as "passing through life surrounded by a ghostly company of impersonal powers, elements and tendencies." It is no less true, however, that what absorbs most of their thoughts is not these impersonal powers or energies who are amenable to control but those real personal beings whose name is legion and between whom and themselves a never-ceasing trial of strength is silently going on. When the power of such a spirit proves too strong for man, a promise is made to provide him regularly with food to sustain his powers, and the Birhōr enters into personal relations with him, provides him with food calculated to sustain and increase his strength and—"eats with him"—partakes of a communal feast—to increase and strengthen his own soul-stuff. The more fortunate amongst them can enter into direct communion with them in dreams and trances when their inner eyes "in a fine frenzy rolling" have vivid visions of the gods. These persons known as *mālis* or *Deonrās* are believed to have attained in

¹ Report of the Census of India, 1901, Vol. I, Part I, p. 352.

a more or less degree, what the Birhör regards as the *summum bonum* of life—the power to control and direct the *impersonal* energies and powers—and the stray *personal* powers, and secure the good-will of the more important *personal* powers or deities. A study of the religious ideas and practices of the tribe appears to indicate that the religious consciousness of the Birhōrs consists in a continual sense of the presence all around them of super-physical and semi-spiritual personal powers and impersonal energies; their religious sentiment consists mainly in a feeling of awe and fear in the presence of such powers and energies, and a consequent sense of mysterious sacredness; their religious rituals have for their object the propitiation and conciliation of these *personal* powers of various grades of potency and sanctity with a view to secure “luck” and avoid misfortune, to prevent disease and dearth of food, and energize and ennoble life, and their magico-religious rites aim at securing greater strength to themselves to repel the evil influence of the harmful lesser personal powers, and impersonal energies and at ridding themselves of these malevolent powers and keeping them out of harm’s way by threats and tricks and spells.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

I.—The Topography of Garhgaon and its Environs in 1662-1663 A.D.

By Jadunath Sarkar, M. A.

Throughout the Persian diary of Mir Jumla's invasion of Kuch Bihar and Assam, composed by Shihabuddin Talish (see this *Journal*, December 1915), is scattered much information about the topography of Garhgaon (the ancient capital of Assam) and the country round it. Such information is of priceless importance to the historian, as the surface of the ground has been completely changed during the ensuing two centuries and a half by frequent earthquakes and particularly by the extensive floods of 1735 and of another year near the end of the eighteenth century.¹

Modern maps fail to enable us to trace all the places and rivers mentioned in this paper. But the local antiquarians of the Sibsagar district may, with the help of the information here supplied, identify some of them, and note to what extent they have changed or disappeared. It is hoped that the data here supplied will be of use to the Archæological Department in making excavations or spotting ancient sites.

¹ "In the reign of Rajeswar, little more than a half century ago, a sudden and overwhelming flood poured from the Dihong, inundating the whole country and sweeping away, with a resistless torrent, whole villages and even districts: such is described to have been its violence, that the general features of the country, and the course of the river were materially altered by it." (Capt. J. B. Neufville's *On the Geography and Population of Assam*, page 4.) "Not only have we the evidence of their histories for this fact [viz, the singular rise of the Dihong in 1735 (P)] but sufficient proof exists in the great alterations in the state of the rivers which then occurred." (Lt. R. Wilcox's *Memoir of a Survey of Assam executed in 1825-8*, page 28; see also Appendix II on page 128.) I have taken the above extracts from *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government*, XXIII. (Calcutta 1835.)

The Dihang river, which now falls into the Brahmaputra north of Sibsagar, flowed during the seventeenth century for many miles further west and united its waters with those of the Brahmaputra at Lakhau near the south-western corner of the Majuli island which then extended to the Namrup hill (T. 42). This fact has to be constantly borne in mind in studying the following notes. T means Talish's *Fathiyya-i-ibriyya*, Asiatic Society of Bengal Persian MS., D. 72.

We start with Garhgaon as our fixed point. It is situated 26°56 N. 94°45 E, eight miles south-east of Sibsagar town. (*Indian Atlas*, 129 S.E.). Seven miles south-east of Garhgaon stood the village of *Mathurapur* on an eminence, not far from the ancient Ahom capital Châraideo, at the foot of the Tiru mountain. (T. 72). Sixteen miles north of Mathurapur lies *Abhaypur* (T. 73); *Sologuri*, four days' march north-east of Garhgaon, stands on the south bank of the Dihang. (In *Indian Atlas* the distance is 33 miles). T. 92 speaks of Sologuri as a former capital of the Ahoms.

Garhgaon is situated on the eastern or right bank of the Dikhu river. One *kos* (two miles) north-east of the town flows the *Dandkâ* river (spelt *Darika* in *Indian Atlas*) which used in those days to terminate in the Dihang and not in the Dikhu as now. The road connecting Garhgaon and Mathurapur passed over a (wooden) bridge across the *Dandkâ* river (T. 104). On this road, one *kos* out of Garhgaon, the Ahom Rajahs had a palace (of lamboo). (T. 134).

A *nala* named *Kākujān* flowed north of the *Dandkâ*, and further north lay the *Diloi* river [modern *Diroi*], which is described as issuing from the (eastern) hills, passing by Mathurapur and falling into the Dihang. (T. 112, 92). The *Diroi* is now an affluent of the Disang.

— Sixteen miles west of Garhgaon was *Trimohani* ("three channels"), the place where the Dikhu joined the Dihang (T. 42). In modern times the Dikhu falls into the Brahmaputra 18 miles from Garhgaon. Between Gajpur and Trimohani stood a village written in the Persian MSS. variously as *Batak*,

Bang, Tik, etc., where the Ahom kings had a dockyard for boats (*nausāt*, Sanskrit नौसात *nau-sātā*).^{*} Between Trimohani and Garhgaon was situated the village of Rāmdāng (variant, Lām-dāng), in front of a *na/a* issuing from the hills. (T. 45, 82.)

On the north bank of the Brahmaputra, some 27 miles east of Bishnath, stood the village of *Lakhau*, where the Mughal flotilla was anchored and off which the Dihang fell into the Brahmaputra (T. 12). Leaving Lakhau the Mughal army forded a *na/a* in front of that village and proceeded eastwards along the southern bank of the Dihang, as it then was. One march brought them to the Ahom king's navyard (*nausāt*) and a second day's march led them to the village of *Dewalgāon*, the home of the Rajah's *guru*. This place had a fine temple and orange garden overlooking the Dihang (T. 41, 43.) Dewalgāon may be identified with *Debergaon*, 14 miles due north of Golaghat and nearly the same distance west of Jorhat. (*Indian Atlas*, 130 N.W.)

From Dewalgāon to *Gajpur* (one mile east of Jorhat) was only one day's march, in the course of which a village named *Bānsbāri* (Assamese *Bāhobāri*) was passed. (T. 120.) From Gajpur to Trimohani was also one day's march eastward, and from Trimohani to Garhgaon another day's march in the dry season. From Dewalgāon to *Sairing* (Persian spelling, Chēring) "on the skirt of the (southern) hills", the distance was 7 or 8 *kos*. (T. 139.) There was an *al* or embanked road from the west bank of the Dikhu, opposite Garhgaon, to Dewalgāon, by way of Sairing. (T. 93, 139.) A royal road, well shaded with trees (mostly bamboo-groves), ran from Koliābar, on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, opposite Bishnath, to Gargaon. Another road connected Lakhau (27 miles east of Bishnath) with the Ahom capital. (T. 53.) These roads were carried on embankments raised above the neighbouring fields. A third road (evidently not an *al*) ran from Garhgaon towards Tipām; horsemen could use it, but the first mile of it was through

^{*}There is a *Nowuli-gāon* at the south-western corner of *Indian Atlas*, sheet 129 S. E. But I doubt whether it was the place meant.

a dense jungle, and thereafter for ten or twelve miles it narrowed down to a defile strewn over with rocks and mud-pools, and flanked with high and steep ridges. (T. 71.)

The Mughals occupied the following places for military purposes:—Samdhārā, Koliābar, Lakhau, Dewalgāon, Gajpur, Garhgāon, Mathurāpur, Trimohani, Rāmdāng, Silpāni, Deopāni, Abhaypur, Dihang bank, and, later, Sologuri.

During the time that Mir Jumla was besieged at Garhgaon (June—Nov. 1662), the Bijdalai Phukan constructed a “broad, high, battlemented wall” for sixty * miles along the Diloī river from the (eastern) hills to the junction of the Diloī and the Dihang. The right bank of the Diloī, in front of the wall, was scarped so as to prevent ascent even by infantry (T. 92.) J. M. Foster, in his *Note on Ghargaon* published in the *J.A.S.B.* Pt. I, 1872, p. 39, mentions a *bund* some four or five miles outside Garhgaon proper and asks if it was an outer line of defence. I am inclined to regard it as the remnant of the Bijdalai Phukan’s wall. [If the Diloī then flowed through the channel of the modern Disang, the distance would be like that given by Foster.]

A description of Garhgaon and its fortifications has been given from Talish, in this *Journal*, December 1915 (T. 66-69). The Mughal defensive works are described in T. 97, 98, 99, 101, 103, 104, 110 and 112. But probably no trace of them survives to-day.

* Two MSS. read *six miles*.

II.—The Word Kikata in the Rigveda in Reference to South Bihar.

By Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narayan Sinha, M.A.

The Rigveda has the word Kîkaṭa in the following Rik :—

किं ते क्षरावन्ति कीकटेषु गावो नाशिरंदूई न तपन्ति घर्म्मम ।
आ नो भर प्रमगन्दस्य वेदो नेचाशाखं मघवन्मयागः ॥

Rigveda III. 58. 14.

Kin te Kṛiṇvanti Kikṭaeshu gāvo nāsiraṇduhre na tapanti gharmam ā nō 'bhara Pramagandasya vedo naichāsākham Maghavanrandhayānah. The metrical translation of the Rik is thus given by Mr. Griffith :—

“Among the Kîkaṭas what do thy cattle? They pour no milky draught, they heat no caldron.

Bring thou to us the wealth of Pramaganda; give up to us, O Maghavan, the low-born.”

The hymn is addressed to Indra, and Visvāmītra is the Rishi thereof. The prayer purports to be on behalf of the clan of Visvāmītra. Nighaṇṭu takes up the word “Kikṭaeshu” in this Rik. Yāska therefore comments upon the Rik in his Nirukta. (VI.32). “What do the cows do for thee in the Kîkaṭas? Kîkaṭa is the name of a land, where the Non-Āryans reside. Kikṭa is (the corruption of) Kinkritāh (what have they done?) or Kinkriyābbih (by what acts?). They do not give any milk which is ā-sira or fit to be mixed with Soma juice; nor do they (by giving milk give occasion to) the heating of the milk pot. Bring thou to us the riches of Pramaganda. ‘Maganda’ is one who lends money on interest (Kusḍi). (The word is really) Māṅgada, i.e. one who gives money to another (with the intention) it will come back (gada) to me (mān)”. The son (or descendant) of Maganda is

Pramgaanda—one accustomed to lend money on exorbitant interest.

Or (the real word is) Pramadaka—he who believes in the existence of this world only and not of any other.....

Nirukta VI. 32.

Sâyana follows the *Nirukta* in his commentary on the Rik “O Indra ! in the Kikatas (regions where dwell the Non-Aryans or people who doubt in the efficacy of such acts as sacrifice, gifts, or offerings of ghee in fire and do not believe in them, rather who say ‘Eat and drink, only this world exists, not another,’ the unbelievers). What do the cows do for thee? (They do nothing to serve thee). They do not give milk for mixture with Soma juice. Nor does the pot known as Mahavira used in Pravargya part of the sacrifice, become heated with their milk.....

Therefore as these cows are not helpful in any Vedic performance do thou bring them to us. Not only that. Bring us also the wealth of Pramaganda. (The money by becoming double or so will come back to me—he who with this intention gives money to others is called Maganda, i. e. one who lives upon increase (vridhhi). His descendants are called Pramaganda, people who are extremely usurious. O Maghavan! bring to our service (the wealth of) those that are low-born”. *Sâyana*.

Wilson says :—“ Kikata is usually identified with South Behar ”.¹ Weber says :—“ In the Rik Samhitâ, where the Kikatas the ancient home of the people of Magadha and their King Pramaganda are mentioned as hostile, we have probably to think of the aborigines of the country It seems not impossible that the native inhabitants, being particularly vigorous, retained more influence in Magadha than elsewhere even after the country had been Brahmanised. and that is how we have to account for the special sympathy and success which Buddhism met with in Magadha.”²

I have not been able to find out why Weber calls Pramaganda

¹ Quoted by R. C. Dutt in his Bengali translation of *Rigveda Samhita*. .

² Weber's *Indian Literature* (Translation), page 79.

the king of Kikāṭa. Griffith says :— "The Kikāṭas : the non-Aryan inhabitants of a country (probably Kosala or Oudh) usually identified with South Bihar. The meaning is that the cows bestowed by Indra are unprofitable when in the possession of men who do not worship the Aryan Gods. Pramaganda : the prince of the Kikāṭas ; according to Sāyana the word means the son of the usurer."

None of the authorities refers to Nirukta. The authority of Yāska is greater than that of Sāyana and in explaining the word Pramaganda we cannot overlook the fact that Yāska does not mention any king of Magadha.

Then as to the identity of Kikāṭa, Nirukta is conclusive. Whether we take Pramaganda as the prince of Kikāṭa, or as the people or a section of the people of that province, there cannot be any doubt that the word is inseparably connected with Kikāṭa. The Nirukta tells us Pramaganda is Pra + Maganda, the basic word being Maganda. The similarity between Maganda and Magadha is so great that it will be no violent assumption to say that a tract of the country that had been inhabited by usurious money-lenders or Magandas in Vedic times came to be known as Magadha in the Mahābhārata period.

We can also easily imagine that a large part of Shahabad and Gaya districts and a portion of Bihar Subdivision were covered over with forests even as they now are and there were immense pasture lands over which numberless cattle used to graze. Local tradition places the hermitage of Viśvāmitra near about Buxar and the Rik above quoted gives a strong verification of that tradition. It is quite natural for the descendants of Viśvāmitra to cast a wistful eye upon the numberless cattle of the Kikāṭas, the original dwellers of Magadha, and to wish for their possession for the performance of Vedic sacrifices.

Who could the Kikāṭas be who gave their name to the land? Are they the ancestors of the Goālas of the present day, who owned cattle and did not come under the Brāhmanical influence? Does this fact account for the large population of Goālas in

the province? In this connection, it is interesting to note the lingering custom amongst the Goālas of the province to kill pigs on the day after Dewali. This must be the remnant of a non-Aryan custom. The Dewali is the new moon night of the month of Kārtika.

The Goddess Kālī is worshipped on this night.

The next day is sacred to the cows in Bihar, when the Godanr or Gaidanr festival is observed. On this day the Dosada brings his pigs and the Goāla his cows and buffaloes and the pigs are made to be killed by the cows and buffaloes. The tradition is that in former days the Goālas used to partake of the pig but now, of course, the pig is taken away by the Dosads. It may fairly be presumed that the Goālas and the Dosads were the original dwellers of South Bihar and they formed friendly tribes, one tending the cattle and the other tending the pigs and there was an annual festival when the cows and buffaloes of one tribe were pitched against the pigs of another tribe, then there was a general feast over the slaughtered pigs which was partaken of by both the tribes, or there might be separate feasts of the two tribes.

There is another significant fact. The Goraya is the deity proper of the Dosadas. In towns and villages in South Bihar, wherever there is a Devisthana there is generally the deity of Goraya also. The Devi or Goddess is generally installed inside a hut and the image is made of mud while Goraya is placed outside the hut and is generally made of stones. While the Devi is worshipped with milk and offerings burnt in ghee, Goraya is worshipped in addition with wine. I have said above, Goraya is the deity proper of the Dosadas. But the Goālas also make vow to that deity specially when cows fall ill. This shows a past intimacy between the Goālas and the Dosadas. When I speak of Goālas, I do not certainly include in the list the Kanaujia Goālas, who form a separate class and among whom the Sagai form of marriage does not prevail. They evidently migrated from Kanauj and have a separate history of their own. I am doubtful about the Ghoshi sect too, as there is no Sagai

form of marriage in this sect. My remarks apply to the Krishnaut, Majhrautia and Goria sects, which abound in the Patna Division. The Krishnauts, I believe, form the largest proportion of the Goślas in the Province. There is one sect of Goślas, known as Jatha, rare in the Patna Division, inhabiting only some parts of Gaya. But I am told the sect is to be found mostly in the Chota Nagpur Division. I am also told that the Jatha Goślas call themselves *Tikāt* as well. This is only a bare information and it requires verification. If the information be true *Tikāt* is a very near approach to Kikata. The Kikātas and the Magan-das, whoever they might be, must not be identified in any way with the aboriginal hill tribes of Bihar. Even in the Vedic* times the former were a wealthy people lending money to others and having some form of civilization of their own. They did not believe in the Vedic Gods and they did not take any part in Vedic sacrifices. They perhaps kept themselves aloof from the Brahmanas. But it cannot be said that they had no religion as Yaska seems to indicate. Possibly Goraya and it may be even the Goddess occupied some place in their religion. It may be that the Ghora or Aghora aspect of Śiva or Mahādeva is a development of Goraya and an attempt was made here as elsewhere to assimilate a non-Aryan deity. It may also be that the Dosadas are called Goraitas as they are followers of Goraya, just as the Lingāyats are called after Linga in the South. The word Goraya may have something to do with *gorena* or *agorena*, to watch, as the Gorayats are perhaps watchmen since their early existence, and Gorava in that case may be a God of watch in the first instance and a God of protection generally in later development. But I must not pursue the subject further.

* See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, p. 189, for references to opinions of European schools on the KIKATAS.

III.—On a Muhammadan Folk-Tale of the Hero and the Deity Type.

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

In my paper on "*A Folk-tale of a New Type from North Bihar and its Variants*,"* I have published three Hindu folk-tales of a new type which I have named "*The Hero and the Deity Type*" and fixed the story-radical thereof as follows:—

1. A hero goes to a deity to beg a boon.
2. On the way, he meets with several suffering persons and beasts, and a tree, all of whom importune him to enquire from the deity the causes and the remedies of their respective troubles.
3. The hero obtains his own boon and learns from the deity the causes and the remedies of their respective troubles.
4. He communicates the same to them, all of whom adopt the remedies and are, at once, relieved of their troubles.

Since the publication of the aforementioned article, I have come across a Muhammadan folk-tale of a type which is similar to the aforesaid one in all respects except in its finale, which is quite different. It appears to have been recently collected and translated into English. It has been named by its collector as "*The Man Who Went to Wake His Luck*."† The gist of this aberrant form of the folk-tale of the Hero and the Deity Type is as follows :—

Once upon a time, there were two brothers one of whom was very rich and the other very poor. Going to the mountains on one occasion, the latter found that his brother's herds of horses were being grazed by a man with a black felt coat on. When

* *Ide J. B. O. R.* 8, September*1917, pp. 378—405.

† It was narrated to Mr. D. L. R. Lorimer by a Bakhtiari named Mulla Ilahi, translated into English and published by the former in *Indian Ink for June 1917* (Printed at No. 1, Garstin's Place, Calcutta, 1917), pages 10-11.

the latter enquired from the horseherd as to who he was, he gave the latter to understand that he was his brother's Luck. Thereupon the latter enquired from his brother's horse-grazer whether he had seen his own Luck anywhere and, if so, whether or not he was asleep. The horseherd replied that his Luck would wake up soon. Thereafter learning from the horse-grazer that his Luck was asleep in a certain cave, the poor brother went in search of him and, in the course of his journey, arrived at a garden where the gardener, seeing him, asked him as to whither he was going. He replied that he was going to search out his Luck and wake him up from his sleep.

Thereupon the gardener rejoined: "Please tell your Luck that I have got an orchard whereof the trees bear no fruit, and enquire from him the cause of this trouble."

Having agreed to do so, the poor brother wended his way and, after some time, arrived in a country which was ruled by a king who was really a woman in disguise. But the people of that kingdom were not aware of their sovereign's femininity. The king, having been apprised of the poor man's mission, summoned him to his own presence and requested him to enquire from his Luck as to why his subjects did not obey him.

Having agreed to do so, the poor brother resumed his journey and, after he had gone a little way, came across a wolf who importuned him to ascertain from his Luck the reason as to why he could not procure any food to subsist upon.

Having consented to make the desired enquiry, he wended his way and, in the course of his journey, fell in with a cutter of brushwood who importuned him to enquire from his Luck the reason of his having been doomed to earn his livelihood by the performance of such a hard work as that of cutting brushwood.

Having agreed to carry out his request, the poor brother resumed his journey and, after some time, reached a cave where he came across his Luck lying fast asleep

The poor brother kicked his Luck with his toe, who thereupon woke up and enquired from the former as to what he wanted. The former told him that he had come to awaken him. To

which the latter replied that he was due to sleep for seven years more.

At this, the poor brother requested his Luck to wake up then, as several persons had entrusted him with some messages to deliver to him. Whereupon his Luck asked the former to communicate to him those messages.

Thereupon the former enquired from the latter the reason of the gardener's trouble. To which the latter replied: "Please tell the gardener that there are four jars filled with gold coins lying concealed in his garden. Should he dig them up, the trees thereof would bear fruit."

Thereafter he enquired from his Luck the cause of the king's trouble. To this question the latter replied: "Tell the king that he is a woman and that it is for this reason that his subjects do not obey him."

Next the poor brother delivered to his Luck the messages given by the cutter of brushwood and the wolf. In reply to their queries, the latter replied: "Tell the brushwood-cutter that, so long as he will live, his way of life will be the same—neither better nor worse. But be good enough to tell the wolf that, whenever he would come across a foolish man, he should gobble him up. That is the provender that has been provided for him."

Receiving his Luck's replies, the poor brother returned homewards. After some time, he arrived at the place where the brushwood-cutter lived and communicated to him his Luck's answer to his message.

Then he went to the country where the king lived and told him the cause of his trouble. Whereupon the woman (in the king's guise) asked him to marry her. But he refused the offer of marriage, saying that he could not stay there.

Next he went to the gardener and communicated to him the reason as to why his orchard did not yield any fruits. Being apprised of the remedy for his trouble, the gardener proposed to the poor brother that he would dig up the four jars of gold coins and that they should divide the same between themselves,

But the latter did not agree to this proposal, saying that he could not stay there.

Then he resumed his journey homewards, and, having gone far, at last arrived at the cave where the wolf lived and communicated to the latter the remedy for his trouble which had been suggested by his Luck. Hearing the answer to his message, the wolf asked the poor brother to look up towards the sky for a moment just to see how many stars there were therein. The latter did as he was directed to do. When the latter was looking upwards, the wolf, in a twinkling of the eye, caught hold of him by the throat and gobbled him up, saying that he had not seen a greater fool than he was.

If we compare this Muhammadan folk-tale with the three Hindu versions which we have published previously, we find—

- (a) that the deity of the three Hindu folk-tales is represented in the Muhammadan variant by the supernatural being Luck ;
- (b) that the suffering trees of the three former are represented in the latter by the trees of the orchard which did not yield any fruit ;
- (c) that the cause of the troubles from which the trees in the three former suffered is also the source of the trouble from which the trees in the Muhammadan version are suffering, namely, from the fact of several jars of gold being hidden beneath them ;
- (d) that the suffering beasts and reptile of the tales from North Bihar and Chittagong are represented by the wolf in the Muhammadan story ;
- (e) that the suffering persons of the three Hindu folk-tales have their representative in the cutter of brushwood in the Muslim version ;
- (f) that, in the three Hindu stories, the hero, having learnt from the deity the remedies for the troubles from which the several persons and animals are suffering, communicates the same to them who, at once, adopt

them and are relieved of their sufferings. But, in the Muslim folk-tale, the hero communicates the remedies which he had learnt from his Luck to the several suffering persons and animal. The latter (with the exception of the animal) agree to adopt the remedies but, at the same time, propose to reward him suitably. But the hero refuses to accept the proffered rewards and, thereby, proves himself to be the greatest fool.

(g) that, in the three Hindu folk-tales, the hero returns home loaded with rewards given by the several persons and animals whom he had benefitted, and lives happily ever afterwards. But, in the Muslim folk-tale, the hero's fate is a tragic one, for the suffering beast, instead of rewarding him, gobbles him up;

(h) that the only curious incident which occurs in the Muhammadan version is the fact of the hero's falling in with a king who is really a woman in disguise and whose subjects, therefore, do not obey him. It has an analogue, in the folk-tale from North Bihar, in the incident of the Rājā whose bridge topples down in the evening because his daughter has not been given away in marriage.

We thus see that the Muhammadan folk-tale does not fit into the aforementioned story-radical which we have fixed for the Hindu stories of "*the Hero and the Deity Type*." We will have, therefore, to fix the following modified story-radical so that the foregoing Muslim version may fit into it :—

1. A hero goes to a deity to beg of him a boon, or to a supernatural being to wake him up.
2. On the way, the hero meets with several suffering persons and animals, and a tree, all of whom importune him to inquire from the deity or supernatural being the causes of, and the remedies for, their respective troubles.

3. The hero obtains his own boon or effects his own purpose, and learns from the deity or supernatural being the causes of, and the remedies for, their respective troubles.
4. The hero communicates the same to them, all of whom adopt the remedies and are, at once, relieved of their troubles.
- 5. The hero is suitably rewarded by the benefitted persons and animals, and lives happily thereafter. But, in one case, the hero refuses to accept the rewards offered by the benefitted persons and is, in the end, eaten up by the suffering beast.

Notes of the Quarter.

I.—Proceedings of the Council Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on 9th November 1918, at 3 p.m. at the Society's Office.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S., Vice-President, *in the chair*.

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.

Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A., F.R.E.S., F.H.S.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Honorary Secretary.

1. The proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

With reference to the purchase of a typewriter the Vice-President said that Mr. Jayaswal's typewriter had been valued by the Local Agent of the Remington Typewriter Company at Rs. 150 and had been purchased for that amount.

2. The following new members were elected :—

(1) K. P. Mody, Esq., Ahmedabad.

(2) The Hon'ble Mr. Keane, Secretary to the Government of United Provinces, Allahabad.

(3) Nar. Bohidar, Esq., Deputy Inspector, Kalahandi State.

(4) Babu Ramanand Singh, B. L., P. O. Parsa, District Saran.

(5) Babu Sambhu Saran Varma, M. A., B. L., Vakil, High Court, Patna.

(6) Babu Girijapati Sahay, M. A., B. L., Near Dean's Tank, Arrah.

(7) Babur Padamraj Jain Raniwala, 7-9, Jugomohan Mullick's Lane, Calcutta.

- (8) Babu Govinda Das, Benares.
- (9) Babu Jainath Pati, Nawada, Gaya.
- (10) Babu Shiva Prosad Gupta, Nandan Sahu Street, Benares City.
- (11) Dr. Hari Chand, Litt D., Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies, Bihar and Orissa, Patna.
- (12) Babu Manoranjan Ghosh, M. A., Curator, Patna Museum.

3. The note dated 10th August, 1918, of the Hon'ble Vice-President regarding withdrawal of Rs. 500 granted by Government for Babu Sarat Chandra Roy's office establishment and to deposit the sum in the Chota Nagpur Bank at Ranchi, was read and confirmed.

4. Read letter, dated 25th May 1918, from Messrs. Luzac & Co., offering to accept the agency for the sale of the Society's publications on the terms mentioned therein. Resolved that the offer be accepted and also that Messrs. John Grant, Edinburgh, Messrs. Edwards, London, and Messrs. Blackwell, Oxford, be asked for their terms and that agents be also approved in America and Paris.

5. Read letter from Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri to His Honour the President, dated 18th June 1918, recommending the appointment of an Assistant on Rs. 25 to the Orissa Pandit.

Mr. Jayaswal said that he had seen the Pandit when at Puri recently, who had shown him Pandit Jagarnath Hot Kabyathirta, the assistant whom he wished to have, who is well qualified in Sanskrit and knows English and who is willing to accept Rs. 20.

Resolved that Pandit Jagarnath Hota Kabyathirta be appointed Assistant to the Orissa Pandit on Rs. 20 per mensem.

6. Read a letter, dated 7th November 1918, from Pandit Bisvanath Rath, Kabyathirta, who is engaged in cataloguing manuscript in Orissa, addressed to the Director of Public Instruction.

Resolved that the letter be forwarded to the Director of Public Instruction with recommendation.

7. Read letter No. 1877-E., dated 2nd November 1918, from Under-Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, Education Department, sanctioning the extra grant of Rs. 400 in connection with the catalogue of Sanskrit manuscript in Bihar districts. Resolved that the thanks of the Council be submitted to Government.

8. The list of books purchased for the Library since the last meeting, amounting to Rs. 379-2-6, was sanctioned.

9. Read an application from the clerk for an increase of his pay (Rs. 35) on account of the present high prices. Resolved that an allowance of Rs. 5 per mensem be given so long as abnormally high prices continued.

10. Read a letter from Dr. Spooner, dated 9th November 1918, resigning his membership of the Council as he has been recently transferred from Bankipur. Resolved that the resignation be accepted with regret that Dr. Spooner can no longer continue a member.

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